Founding the Year: Ovid's *Fasti* and the Poetics of the Roman Calendar

BY

MOLLY PASCO-PRANGER

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for periodical titles follow those in *L'Année Philologique*. Abbreviations for Latin works follow those of the *OLD*, and those for Greek works follow Liddell-Scott's *A Greek Lexicon*.

ANRW	H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung* (Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1972–).
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History* (notes specify edition and volume).
CHCL	E. J. Kenney and W. V. Clausen (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1863–).
LTUR	E. M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, 6 vols. (Rome: Quasar, 1993–2000).
Neue Pauly	H. Cancik and H. Schneider (edd.), *Der Neue Pauly: Encyclopädie der Antike* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1996–2003).
OLD	P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll (edd.), *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1893–).
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1900–).

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate 1: *Fasti Amiterni*, July–December. L'Aquila, Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo. Photo after Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* 13.2, Tab. LXII. Courtesy of the Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Rome.

Plate 2: Augustan 'Sorrento base'. Sorrento, Museo Correale. Kopperman, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 1965.1252. Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut – Rom.

Plate 3: Augustan 'Belvedere altar' of the *Lares Augusti*, side with the apotheosis of Caesar. Rome, Vatican. Rossa, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 1975.1289. Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut – Rom.

INTRODUCTION

In the course of the French Revolution and in the spirit of the dawning of a new age, proposals for calendar reform proliferated in Paris. In the years just before and after the storming of the Bastille, sweeping changes were advocated in numerous almanacs, and new counts of 'Years of Liberty' and 'Years of Equality' were adopted by the popular press and eventually by the Legislative Assembly and the Paris Commune as well. With the official establishment of the French Republic on September 21, 1792 came yet another new calendrical era: the National Convention declared on September 22 "that henceforth all public acts shall bear the date of the first year of the Republic." A year of lobbying for and debate over the establishment of a revised calendar of the French Republic followed, resulting in a September 20, 1793 report to the National Convention by the Committee of Public Instruction whose preface stated the reasons the Republic needed a new calendar:

> The arts and history . . . also require of you new measures of time that may be equally free from the errors which credulity and superstitious customs have brought down to us through centuries of ignorance . . . the common era was the era of cruelty, of falsehood, of treachery, and of slavery; it has ended with royalty, the source of all our woes . . . Time is opening a new book of history and in its further progress, majestic and simple as equality, it will write with a new and virile pen the annals of regenerated France.[1]

The calendar that the Committee proposed and the National Convention adopted with revisions in a law of November 24, 1793 can only be described as radical: it counted 'years of the Republic' from the abolishment of the monarchy on September 21, 1792, and made September 22 the first day of the new year; a ten-day *décade* replaced

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[1] As translated in G. G. Andrews, "Making the Revolutionary Calendar," *The American Historical Review* 36 (1931): 515–32, whose history of the calendar I follow here. See also, at greater length, M. Meinzer, *Der französische Revolutionskalender (1792–1805): Planung Durchführung und Scheitern einer politischen Zeitrechnung* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1992). The full report is available in the *Procès-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1894), v. 2, 440–48.

the week that was too closely linked to the superstitious customs of the Catholic church; days were decimally divided into ten hours of 100 minutes of 100 seconds; and new state holidays linked to the rhythm of the *décades* aimed to divorce the calendar further from the festal cycle of the church.[2] The major revision to the original proposal involved new names for all twelve months and, to replace the Saints days of the church calendar, a complex nomenclature for the days of each *décade* naming them for farm products, tools, and animals. The special commission that proposed these revisions aimed "to substitute for visions of ignorance the realities of reason and for sacerdotal prestige the truth of nature" and "to exalt the agricultural system . . . by marking the days and the division of the year with intelligible or visible signs taken from agriculture and rural life."[3] This calendar, then, was explicitly designed to both mark and enforce a break with the past and with the church. It was an ideological tool for remaking the French citizen and state on the foundations of rationality and nature.[4]

At least one eighteenth-century agitator for calendar reform saw the changes to the Roman calendar that began in the first century B.C.E. as a model, if not an altogether positive one, for French reforms. An anonymous letter published in the May 17, 1790 issue of *Le Moniteur* opened:

> When Julius Caesar achieved the destruction of Roman liberty, when he accepted the perpetual dictatorship and had himself named emperor, his first concern, as if to mark this disastrous epoch, was to reform the calendar. Is not this moment, when France has just been reborn, when the love of liberty is making even more extensive conquests and appears to want to expand further, still more favorable for proposing a similar change? . . . [my translation]

---

[2] On the aims and meaning of the *décade*, E. Zerubavel, *The Seven Day Circle: The History and Meaning of the Week* (New York: The Free Press, 1985), 28–35.

[3] This report and the November 24 decree that adopted the calendar are printed in full in *Le Moniteur* of December 18, 1793. I again use Andrews' translation.

[4] On the social significance of this calendar: E. Zerubavel, *Hidden Rhythms: Schedules and Calendars in Social Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 82–95. Cf. this 1944 statement by Elisabeth Achelis, the founder of the World Calendar Association, on the need for a World Calendar in the midst of World War: "For Time to be really a healer, and we certainly have need of it in these catastrophic days, Time itself must be healed through its instrument, the calendar, and aid in greater world cooperation, order, balance, stability and above all—unity" (*Journal of Calendar Reform* 14 [1944], reprinted in E. Achelis, *The Calendar for the Modern Age* [New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1959], 29). The argument is developed at greater length in a 1957 pamphlet, "Workable World Harmony" = 160–89 in the above volume.

Though this account of the calendar reforms that accompanied the 'Roman revolution' is clearly rhetorically charged, it is true that the calendrical revisions brought about by Caesar and his successor were no less socially significant than those adopted by the French Republic. They were decidedly subtler, however, and their very subtlety speaks to the difference of their social purpose. Caesar's alignment of the calendar year with the solar year, the addition of holidays commemorating the births, deaths and accomplishments of members the imperial household, and the renaming of the seventh and eighth months of the year for (Julius) Caesar and Augustus in no sense undo the old Roman calendar: like so much else in Augustan culture, the calendar reforms depend upon at least an appearance of continuity with or restoration of the past. The correction of the calendar to match the stars made the Julio-Claudian house the necessary link between a pre-existing Roman ordering of time and natural order; the inscription of the names of Julius, Augustus, and their heirs and intimates throughout the calendar reinforced that link. The cultural 'work' done by the Roman calendar in the early empire was thus not reinvention: rather, it participated in the gradual but thorough reorientation of cultural institutions under the pull of a new node of power embodied in Augustus and his heirs. The longevity of the calendrical changes accomplished in these years is perhaps the best evidence of their success in working with, rather than against, the established calendar.[5] The French *décade* met with resistance from the start, and the calendar as a whole was completely out of use by 1805; Caesar's reforms, by contrast, were welcomed as salutary and the addition of holidays commemorating him and later, his heir, was so gradual as to pass almost unnoticed. We hear grumbling only about the renaming of *Quintilis* for the *dictator*;[6] by the time *Sextilis* becomes *Augustus*, even that change is acknowledged as the due of the *princeps*.

In contrast to the wealth of official reports on the formation and system of the French revolutionary calendar, we have no official document explaining the purpose and meaning of the Julio-Claudian calendar. This is not surprising: Roman religion is in fact characterized by a marked lack of doctrinal and liturgical texts. It is also

[5] Cf. discussion in J. Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit: Die Geschichte der Repräsentation und religiösen Qualifikation von Zeit in Rom* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 379–80.

[6] See, for example, Cic. *Att.* 16.1, 16.4.1.

characterized, however, by a strong exegetical impulse: as a number of recent studies have emphasized, exegesis of rites, whether in the form of mythologizing, etymologizing, commentating, or etiologizing, is one of the many ways the participants in Roman religion adapted cult to changing social and historical circumstances.[7] If we are lacking official documentation and explanation of the Roman calendar, we do have one extraordinary text, a half-finished elegiac poem, organized around the calendar, and composed by a poet who witnessed the slow but steady addition of some twenty-five Julio-Claudian holidays and had seen the month of *Sextilis* become officially 'Augustan' in 8 B.C.E. Ovid's *Fasti* constitutes, among much else, a supremely topical exploration of the how the Roman calendar makes and remakes meaning as it moves through these changes.

That the calendar does, in fact, 'make meaning' needs a bit of attention before we go further. J. Scheid has argued that the substantial variation in contents among the extant epigraphical calendars of the Augustan and Tiberian ages suggests that they themselves are a form of exegesis; they are not ritual objects, not prescriptive documents or painstaking records of ritual, but rather a sort of a memorandum of the ritual year as tailored to particular locations, audiences and patrons.[8] Despite this variation, the calendars also participate in a shared discursive form: a horizontal series of month columns, reading left to right, days numbered from top to bottom, etc. The inscribed calendars' representation of the year is thus necessarily tailored to fit a limited set of categories and subdivisions, a very concrete demonstration of the dictum that all experience is reduced, encoded, and systematized as a precursor to intelligibility. The Julio-Claudian calendars are in fact an ideal 'cultural model' as G. B. Conte uses the term. In his work on literary genre, Conte defines genre as "a means of signification incorporated into the text to give form and meaning to the discourse and instructions to its

---

[7] M. Beard, "A Complex of Times: No More Sheep on Romulus' Birthday," *PCPS* 33 (1987): 1–15; J. Scheid, "Myth, Cult and Reality in Ovid's *Fasti*," *PCPS* 38 (1992): 118–31; F. Graf, "Römische Aitia und ihren Riten," *MH* 49 (1992): 13–25; D. Feeney, *Literature and Religion at Rome: Cultures, Contexts, and Beliefs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 127–33.

[8] Scheid, "Myth, Cult and Reality," 119–21, where the point is primarily that we should not see "the calendar" as unfailingly right and true, or even as meant to be, and thus that we should give fair consideration to Ovid when he differs from one or more of the calendars. Accuracy is not necessarily the sole consideration in either medium.

reader, . . . the horizon marking the boundaries of its meaning and delimiting its real possibilities within the system of literary codification."[9] He further suggests that this conception of genre offers a means of mediating between empirical and theoretical approaches to literature, a means of relating literature to "real life": "For there is no reason to believe that the 'system' (let us call it this) which I have outlined functions only in literature. 'Real life' too is structured by cultural images and models, by symbolic choices, by communicative and perceptual codes . . . Literature acts on cultural models, which act on 'real life' and transform it."[10] If there are details and modes of expression that Ovid is more and less likely to use in an elegiac poem, there are surely also details and modes of expression that do and do not 'belong' to the epigraphic representation of the year. This study takes as its basic premise a complex interaction in the *Fasti* between the genre of etiological elegy and the cultural model of the calendar. Ovid's poem forces these two systems into a dynamic play that defines and transforms both and along the way teaches a great deal about how the Roman calendar made meaning.

This approach has analogies, of course, with cultural poetics, the new historicist movement to treat literary texts as contiguous with and in dialogue with non-literary, cultural 'texts.'[11] One critic has summarized the common theme of the concerns of cultural poetics as "the way in which the materials and beliefs of everyday culture, politics and society are transformed into specialised cultural practices called art, theatre, literature and so on."[12] Even in this brief summary, however, one of the potential pitfalls of cultural poetics is revealed: the habit of looking at literature as a generalized 'cultural practice' and thereby giving less than satisfactory attention to the

[9] G. B. Conte, *Genres and Readers*, trans. G. W. Most (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 36–37.

[10] Ibid., 110–11. Cf. G. B. Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation*, trans. C. Segal (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 98–99.

[11] The term 'cultural poetics,' or 'poetics of culture' was coined by S. Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 5; "Towards a Poetics of Culture," in *The New Historicism*, ed. H. A. Veeser (New York: Routledge, 1989), 1–14. Cf. H. A. Veeser's excellent discussion of the benefits and potential drawbacks of cultural poetic (or New Historicist) approaches to literature: "The New Historicism," in *The New Historicism Reader*, ed. H. A. Veeser (New York: Routledge, 1994), 1–32.

[12] J. Brannigan, *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 89.

complex interpretation of individual works. My intentions then, are not fully in concert with the impulses of cultural poetics: I am concerned with the very specific and self-conscious engagement of *this* poem, the *Fasti*, with other cultural texts, but most specifically with the Roman calendar.

The great advantage of the Contean 'generic' model for considering this engagement is that it allows me to keep the literary nature and context of the *Fasti* fully in mind as I historicize it as a cultural text.[13] Whatever its relation to *realia*, the *Fasti* must be acknowledged as a poetic text with its own modes of representation, and with an ever-present literary tradition behind it. This Contean adjustment to the model of cultural poetics is further justified by the poem itself. As we will see, Ovid, in discussing the origins and structure of the calendar, treats it as a 'blueprint' for the world (i.e., Rome), consciously constructed and manipulated by those in political power, that is, as a cultural model *par excellence*. Once this is recognized, the question of the relationship of Ovid's poetic project (which presents itself as an exposition of the year) to the calendrical model is inevitable, as is the question of Ovid's 'authority' to create an alternative model of the year and of the world. I will argue that the *Fasti*'s exaggerated picture of the calendar's social function serves as a defining element of its poetic project.

My approach also has as an advantage its productive treatment of the *Fasti*'s singular use of the calendar as an organizational principle. The search for the reasons for Ovid's choice to 'versify the calendar' has proceeded in several directions, with limited success. The most common approach proceeds from the literary antecedents of the poem. The influence of Callimachus' *Aetia* on Ovid's generation of poets can hardly be underestimated, and the *Fasti* borrows its focus on *causae* as well as many elements of presentation from the

[13] J. Griffin's argument for a direct relation between Roman poetry and 'lived reality' has been criticized for its extremism in focusing on the poems' reflections of the minutiae of daily life and denying the influence of the literary tradition in the way those minutiae are deployed: *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986) and critique in R. Thomas, "Turning Back the Clock," *CP* 83 (1988): 54–69. G. Herbert-Brown's effort to make historical use of the *Fasti* in particular has likewise met with criticism for its devaluation of the literary impulses that underlie the poem and the experience of reading a poetic text: *Ovid and the* Fasti: *A Historical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) and reviews: J. Miller, *BMCR* 7.2 (1996): 111–15; P. Hardie, *JRS* 85 (1995): 324–25.

Aetia.[14] Nonetheless, though it frequently focuses on religious etiology, the *Aetia* does not offer a structural model to the *Fasti*: it is divided into four books, with no apparent unifying theme to each; the Muses as interlocutors offer a unifying framework to the first two books, but the second two seem to lack any framing narrative whatsoever.[15] Aratus' *Phaenomena* is likewise often pointed to as a model for the *Fasti*'s astronomical entries; the great popularity in the late Republic and early Empire of this single book of hexametric didactic has been well documented, with translators including Varro of Atax, Cicero, Ovid himself, and Tiberius' nephew Germanicus, to whom the later revision of the *Fasti* is dedicated.[16] The *Fasti* does not, however, borrow its structure from the *Phaenomena*: only a small portion of Aratus' book (559–732, on the risings and settings of the constellations) is temporally arranged, and the *Fasti* borrows these brief astronomical observations primarily as a means of marking the passing days.[17] The star myths that make up the longer astronomical

[14] Cf. esp. J. F. Miller, "Callimachus and the Augustan Aetiological Elegy," *ANRW* 2.30.1 (1982): 371–417; "Ovid's Divine Interlocutors in the *Fasti*," in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History III*, ed. C. DeRoux (Brussels, 1983), 164–74; and *Ovid's Elegiac Festivals* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991); J. Loehr, *Ovids Mehrfacherklärungen in der Tradition aitiologischen Dichtens* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1996), 87–126. Less systematic treatments are B. Harries, "Causation and the Authority of the Poet in Ovid's *Fasti*," *CQ* 38, no. 2 (1989): 164–85; A. Barchiesi, "Discordant Muses," *PCPS* 37 (1991): 1–21; P. Hardie, "The Janus Episode in Ovid's *Fasti*," *MD* 26 (1991): 47–64; C. Newlands, "Ovid's Ravenous Raven," *CJ* 86 (1991): 244–55; G. Williams, "Vocal Variations and Narrative Complexity in Ovid's Vestalia: *Fasti* 6.249–468," *Ramus* 20.2 (1991): 183–204.

[15] R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1949), vol. II, xxxv; A. Cameron, *Callimachus and his Critics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 107–8. On the relationship of the *Aitia*'s structure to that of the *Fasti*, see Miller, "Divine Interlocutors," 157–58, n. 5; Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 9.

[16] E. Fantham, "Ovid, Germanicus, and the Composition of the *Fasti*," *PLLS* 5 (1985): 243–79, esp. 245–46, note 11. On the influence of Aratus on the *Fasti*, but with no claim that the *Phaenomena* serves as a structural model, see E. Gee, *Ovid, Aratus and Augustus: Astronomy in Ovid's* Fasti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[17] L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 264–65; C. Santini, "Motivi astronomici e Modulli didattici nei *Fasti* di Ovidio," *GFI* n.s. 6 (1975): 1–26. The more expanded astronomical entries more often join in the thematic texture of the surrounding festal entries; cf. C. Newlands, *Playing with Time: Ovid and the* Fasti (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 27–51; and "Ravenous Raven"; A. Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince: Ovid and Augustan Discourse* (Berkeley and California: University of California Press, 1997), 81–82; Gee, *Ovid, Aratus* and "*Vaga signa*: Orion and Sirius in Ovid's *Fasti*," in *Ovid's* Fasti: *Historical Readings at its Bimillenium*, ed. G. Herbert-Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 47–70. A few have a seen a more overarching significance to the presence

entries are more closely related to Eratosthenes' *Katasterismoi*.[18] Likewise, Hesiod's *Works and Days* is always in the background as a didactic model and the recurring address to the *Fasti*'s poet, *vates operosus dierum* (1.101, 3.177), likely refers to the poem's Latin title, *Opera diesque*.[19] It too, however, fails to provide a structural model for the *Fasti*: its focus on the 'days' appropriate to various kinds of work, marked by astronomical phenomena, weather signs, or natural phenomena (e.g., the appearance of cranes [448], or the emergence of snails [571]), does not progress systematically through the year, and remains more tied to the natural world than to the social, civic calendar. A possible debt to Simias of Rhodes' lost poem the Μῆνες, or *On the Months*, has been suggested,[20] but we know nothing about this poem beyond its name.

On the Roman side, Vergil's *Georgics* has also been adduced as a model for the *Fasti*.[21] However, like the *Works and Days* to which it owes so much, Vergil's didactic poem goes nowhere towards explaining Ovid's choice to write a calendar-poem. Propertius, in his fourth book of elegies, is more promising, naming his topic as *sacra diesque . . . et cognomina prisca locorum* [Rites and days and the ancient names of places] (4.1.69)[22] and claiming a debt to Callimachus in doing so, boasting that he will be the *Romanus Callimachus* (4.1.64).[23] It is this

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of the star myths: C. Martin, "A Reconsideration of Ovid's *Fasti*," *ICS* 10 (1985): 261–74; C. R. Phillips III, "Roman Religion and Literary Studies of Ovid's *Fasti*," *Arethusa* 25 (1992); R. J. King, "Spatial Form and the Literary Representation of Time in Ovid's 'Fasti'" (Ph.D. diss. Indiana University, 1994), 94–101; *contra*, see Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 3.

18 B. Pressler, "Quaestionum Ovidianarum capita duo" (diss. inaug. Halle, 1903), 24–39; F. Bömer, ed. and comm., *P. Ovidius Naso, Die Fasten* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1957), vol. 1, 28–29; Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 29.

19 See Hardie, "Janus," 59 and n. 40, and Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 52 and n. 9. However, as Barchiesi notes, that the work was so called in this period is only conjecture.

20 Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled*, 242; Miller, "Augustan Aetiological Elegy," 400.

21 E. Fantham, "Ceres, Liber, and Flora: Georgic and Anti-Georgic elements in Ovid's *Fasti*," *PCPS* 38 (1992): 39–56; Gee, "*Vaga signa*".

22 R. Hanslick's 1979 Teubner edition emends the text to *sacra deosque*, following J. P. Sullivan's suggestion (*Propertius: A Critical Introduction* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976], 138). P. Fedeli's 1984 Teubner rightly returns to the *diesque* reading of the manuscripts.

23 Propertius' extensive use of Callimachean programmatic language begins earlier, of course, and is especially heavy in 3.1–3. The first poem of Book 4, however, announces itself as a departure from Propertius' earlier poetic practice; cf. J. DeBrohun, *Roman Propertius and the Reinvention of Elegy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), esp. 1–22.

book that comes closest in conception to Ovid's *Fasti*, promising to be a book length collection of etiological poetry, and focusing in part on religious material and on 'days';[24] nonetheless it too is far from serving as a structural model for the *Fasti*. Certain passages of the *Fasti* have been shown to play against Propertius' treatment of the same material,[25] but Propertius' book continues in the elegiac tradition of short poems, so that an explanation for the *Fasti*'s calendrical organization is not to be sought there any more than in Callimachus. This avenue of inquiry does a great deal towards explaining the etiological focus of the *Fasti*, and alerts us to the literary models against which the *Fasti* sets up certain passages, but leaves us at a loss to explain the calendrical organization of the poem.

Prior to the late 1980s, most readings, whether literary-critical or religio-historical in focus, took the calendrical framework as a given, but bemoaned its use as ill considered. Indeed, if the poem is read as simply a versification of the calendar, and the epigraphical calendars are used as a standard of comparison, the poem will be (and has been) found lacking in accuracy and full of 'irrelevant' material. Some have argued that the inclusion of astrological information and Hellenistic mythology in the poem was due to the poor premise of basing a poem on the rather scanty Roman calendar; the result was a disorganized hodge-podge. For many years it was generally agreed that the calendrical framework was a hindrance to Ovid's artistry, an organizational straightjacket that restrained his talent and resulted in a failed poetic project. Alternatively, the solemnity of the calendrical project was considered too great a burden for Ovid's light talent and playful personality, or for the elegiac meter that was his forte—the resulting critical judgment was the same.[26] The boom in literary critical work on the *Fasti* in the last two decades has done

[24] In the end, only five of Book 4's eleven elegies are etiological. A topographical scheme of organization may have been envisaged for the book as a whole (Miller, "Aetiological Elegy," 381–82), but this too is not clear in the book as we have it.

[25] P. Hardie, "The Augustan Poets and the Mutability of Rome," in *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus*, ed. A. Powell (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992), 59–82; Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 186–89.

[26] Catalogs of such judgments have become a commonplace of new work on the *Fasti*, so I will not indulge in yet another recitation, but only refer the reader to recent summaries of earlier work: D. Porte, *L'Etiologie religieuse dans les Fastes d'Ovide* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1985), 9–16, 495–99; Miller, *Elegiac Festivals*, 2–3; Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 1–3; Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 1–5.

much to change its reputation as a poetic failure. Small-scale studies have demonstrated the artistry and allusiveness of Ovid's treatment of particular rites, and literary critics have come to recognize the *Fasti* as work of merit, worthy of comparison with the rest of the poet's corpus. Nonetheless, in many of these studies, the calendar still does not receive the attention it deserves as an integral and constructive element in Ovid's poetic project; it is often dismissed as an organizing framework and little else or simply pointed to as a source of material.

G. Herbert-Brown's historical study of the *Fasti* looks for a positive explanation for the poet's choice to write a calendar-poem, and finds it primarily in political expediency: the poet wanted to write something Augustus would like; he saw the attention and effort the *princeps* had given to his correction of the calendar, and thus decided on a poem on the subject. The study proceeds to a valuable survey of the encomiastic portions of the poem, measuring them against more official propaganda, including the evidence of the epigraphic calendars for the celebration of imperial anniversaries. However, Herbert-Brown's premise that the work is at base encomiastic and that all of Ovid's poetic choices are motivated by the desire to please Augustus leads her to the surprising conclusion that "the Julian anniversaries provide the central focus of the *Fasti*," and that the rest of the calendar comprises the decorative "filigree" of the anniversaries.[27] She thus effectively excludes from consideration a complex function for the calendar within the poem. This conception of the *Fasti*'s use of the calendar also does a disservice to the calendar's function in society: the embedding of the Julian anniversaries in the ancient calendrical structure was far from ornamental. The calendrical structure worked to assimilate the new festal days to the old, and was an integral part of the ideological message of the new holidays. An approach is needed that takes both the calendar and poetry into account as modes of expression and systems of signification when discussing the political content of the *Fasti*.

Several other recent readings of the poem which take into consideration the epigraphical *fasti* answer to the charge that the calendar was an uncomfortable formal constraint to Ovid's talent by demonstrating the poem's frequent manipulation of the calendrical

[27] Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 30.

models as the poet picks and chooses among the possible calendrical entries, and takes advantage of the jarring juxtapositions ensuing from the day-by-day treatment of rites and festivals in order to create thematic effects.[28] Though the calendar is still seen to impose a basic structure, these readings emphasize the poem's triumph over, and indeed through, that structure. While this recent work has offered many useful observations about the poem's play with the calendrical form in individual passages, it nonetheless construes the use of that form as essentially negative, an obstacle to be overcome with virtuosity and to great effect, but still an obstacle. In addition, this line of observation tends to extend to political readings of the poem whereby Ovid's artistic manipulations of the calendar and the religio-political material of the poem are treated as 'subversive' of the Augustan construction of the calendar.[29] These discussions have the merit of acknowledging the contemporary significance of the calendar, but they continue to treat the calendrical model, along with its nationalistic implications, as a foil to Ovid's 'real' purposes, a means of foregrounding Ovid's poetic artistry and political discontent.[30]

This tendency to dismiss or read as ironic the avowedly patriotic material of the *Fasti* proceeds in large part from expectations based on Ovid's earlier corpus of amatory elegy. Whether these expectations are figured as the personal political leanings of Ovid, or as the generic political associations of elegy,[31] they have shaped the reception of the calendrical material and framework of the poem. While in earlier scholarship preconceptions of Ovid's natural inclination or character, similarly based on the amatory elegy, caused the poet to be deemed unfit to compose a serious poem on a nationalistic topic, many of today's political readings of the *Fasti* tend toward the same

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[28] Newlands, "Ravenous Raven," and *Playing with Time*; E. Fantham, "The Role of Evander in Ovid's *Fasti*," *Arethusa* 25 (1992): 155–72; Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*.

[29] Not all such readings make this second step: of the studies in the above note, Fantham avoids it entirely; Barchiesi also refuses to make a statement of the poet's political intentions, though his treatment of the *Tristia* as a preface to his readings in the *Fasti* surely preconditions his readers' interpretations of his observations, slanting them toward the 'anti-Augustan,' as does his emphasis on 'counter-effects' and 'tensions.'

[30] Cf. Newlands: "Ovid can thus circumvent the arbitrary strictures of the calendrical order and produce complementary or competing systems of meaning in the text" (*Playing with Time*, 17).

[31] Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 14; A. J. Boyle, "Postscripts from the Edge: Exilic *Fasti* and Imperialised Rome," *Ramus* 26 (1997): 7–28.

vice, but construct a more admirable picture of Ovid, and of the *Fasti*. The same passages that once seemed to show the poet's constitutional failure to live up to his material by letting the playful, elegiac *amator* and *praeceptor amoris* peek through the mask of the *vates operosus* are now read as intentional subversions of the Augustan ideology displayed in the calendar. As our reading of Roman amatory elegy has changed to include its engagement with other literary and political discourses, our estimations and expectations of what is Ovidian have changed as well.[32]

On the one hand, these preconceptions are entirely legitimate, part of the necessary apparatus of reading the *Fasti*, and I, too, will find some of what we recognize as Ovidian play with his audience's expectations, especially in the realm of genre. We might, indeed, expect the *Fasti* to perform a 'reduction' of its material to fit elegy, the Ovidian genre *par excellence*, the genre pointed to by the poem's meter, and by several of its programmatic passages. Most famously, in the proem to Book 4, the poet promises Venus, the patroness of his amatory elegy: *'tu mihi propositum, tu mihi semper opus'* ['You are my topic, you are always my work'] (4.8), implying some degree of continuity between the work at hand and his earlier corpus. The proem to Book 3 on the other hand dramatizes amatory elegy's conventional negotiation of its boundaries with the epic genre, as the poet asks Mars to disarm as he enters the poem and makes a lover of the god of war (*Fasti* 3.1–22).[33] Nonetheless, the *Fasti*'s departures from amatory elegy are at least as significant as its references back

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[32] In addition, in the background of many of these readings, and in the foreground of the Boyle article cited above, lurks the ghost of Ovid's exile, a biographical fact which Ovid's poetic corpus forces into our critical vision, and which the exile poetry represents as radically transforming the poet and his poetry; cf. G. Williams, *Banished Voices: Readings in Ovid's Exile Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). The *Fasti*, though broken off by the exile and revised at Tomis, does not, in fact, share the exile poetry's overwhelming focus on the exile as a literary fact and does not, therefore, ask us to confront the implications of that exile in the same way. For a discussion of this and other ways that readings of Ovid are implicated in the poem's politics, see A. R. Sharrock, "Ovid and the Politics of Reading," *MD* 33 (1994): 97–122.

[33] S. Hinds, "*Arma* in Ovid's *Fasti*—Part 1: Genre and Mannerism," *Arethusa* 25 (1992): 81–112; and, with a very different approach, E. Merli, *Arma canant alii: Materia epica e narrazione elegiaca nei* fasti *di Ovidio* (Florence: Università degli studi di Firenze Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità "Giorgio Pasquali", 2000), 69–129. More generally, on the *Fasti*'s use of the conventions and systems of signification of amatory elegy: S. Hinds, *The Metamorphosis of Persephone: Ovid and the Self-conscious Muse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

to that genre; the poet continues his address to Venus: *'quae decuit primis sine crimine lusimus annis;/nunc teritur nostris area maior equis'* ['I innocently played with topics fitting to my early years; now a greater field is beaten by my horses'] (4.9–10). Though in the *Amores* and particularly in the *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid had continually played with the boundaries between and the overlapping discourses of public and private life, military and erotic *militia*, the *Fasti* differs from his earlier elegy in proceeding from an overtly political *materia*. These passages and others point to what Conte has noted as the *Fasti*'s obsession with its generic status and its "open exhibition of the problem" of genre. Conte reads this generic self-consciousness as a sign of the *Fasti*'s participation in the negotiation of a new and "distinct elegiac genre," Roman etiological elegy, which builds on Callimachus' *Aetia* and begins to be codified only in Propertius' fourth book of elegies. This new genre uses "'traditional' love elegy, by now codified in its genre," as the primary boundary marker against which and by means of which it defines itself.[34] That the two genres will share certain signs, just as they share a meter, is to be expected, and the literary competence the reader brings to etiological elegy from amatory elegy is often exploited and played against as the new form defines itself within the system of genres.

Indeed, we might think of the *Fasti*'s genre as the locus of several distinct but simultaneous negotiations. On one level, the dynamic opposition between epic and elegy continues to play a role, as we saw above in the Mars proem; on another level, the negotiation of the specialized generic status of etiological elegy as opposed to amatory elegy[35] is played out; and on yet another, this etiological elegy defines its own ways of building meaning in the exposition of the year against the cultural model of the epigraphical calendars. While

[34] Conte, "Empirical and Theoretical Approaches to Literary Genre," in *The Interpretation of Roman Poetry: Empiricism or Hermeneutics*, ed. K. Galinsky (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992), 104–23, esp. 118–20; cf. the approach to Propertius' Book 4 taken by DeBrohun, *Roman Propertius*.

[35] E.g., Newlands' discussion of the figure of Flora (*Playing with Time*, 105–10); J. C. McKeown, "*Fabula proposito nulla tegenda meo*: Ovid's *Fasti* and Augustan Politics," in *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*, edd. T. Woodman and D. West (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 168–87, esp. 183–84. Indeed, the negotiations of genre in the *Amores* and the *Ars Amatoria* are not to be conflated either. The *Ars*' addition of the didactic mode radically transforms both the persona of the elegiac poet and the reader's expectations. Nonetheless, both poems participate in building a similar model of the world with love and suffering at the center, opposed to civic and military duty. The *Fasti*'s world is not the same.

the first level, and to a lesser extent the second, have received a good deal of merited critical attention in recent years, the third has been neglected. I focus primarily on this third level of generic negotiations in this study. Like the elegiac meter, the religious material and calendrical organization bring to the *Fasti* particular generic expectations; the calendar is by definition national, public, and political, all characteristics arguably antithetical to amatory elegy. When the poet ends his highly programmatic speech to Venus with: *'et vatem et mensem scis, Venus, esse tuos'* ['You know, Venus, both poet and month are yours'] (4.14), the goddess' status as a sign in the calendar surely deserves as much attention as her status as a sign in amatory elegy.

In response to these *lacunae* in both literary and historical studies of the *Fasti*, and building on recent work that points to the contemporary significance of the calendar in Augustan Rome,[36] this study offers a theory of the relationship between the *Fasti*'s poetic form, its calendrical organization, and its religio-political material that reads the calendar as a constructive element in the *Fasti*'s poetic project, not simply as a unifying framework, but as a cultural model with its own social and ideological associations and its own ways of organizing meaning. I argue that the *Fasti*'s didactic project is not simply a versification of the calendar, but a reconstruction of the year in poetic form, using the strategies and discursive possibilities offered by poetry to explore the conceptual frameworks that the calendar graphically represents and the associative connections between rites that the calendar encourages. In addition, by exploring, borrowing from, and working through the familiar paradigm of the calendar and its ideological associations with political power, the project is strongly politicized and participates in Augustan negotiations of the ideology of time. The examination of the process and mechanisms of building meaning and authority in the calendrical structure is a central feature of the *Fasti*'s exposition of *tempora cum causis*.

Three basic questions organize the first part of my study. First, what does the calendar mean and how does it function in Augustan Rome, and in the *Fasti*? Second, how does Ovid figure the relation-

[36] A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Time for Augustus: Ovid, Augustus and the *Fasti*," 221–30 in *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble*, ed. Michael Whitby, P. Hardie, and Mary Whitby (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press and Oak Park: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1987); Beard, "Complex;" Scheid, "Myth, Cult and Reality."

ship between calendar-building and his poetic project? And finally, what is the *Fasti*'s didactic project and how does the calendrical model relate to that project? The first two chapters, with some overlap, respond to the above questions in the order in which they appear here. While these preliminary chapters include many readings of select passages of the *Fasti*, the last three chapters offer more extended close readings, applying and extending the insights developed in the first part of the study.

Chapter 1 addresses the calendar's representation as an ideological tool in the *Fasti* in conjunction with a discussion of the Julio-Claudian reforms to the calendar and other Augustan manipulations of the ideology of past, present, and future. The importance of an appearance of stability and continuity in the crucial period of the end of Augustus' life and Tiberius' accession to power made the control of time more visible and significant than before. Augustan ideology used a multiplicity of traditional Roman discourses to represent the present as simultaneously a rescue of the past from oblivion, a continuous and logical development from the past, and an ahistorical and eternal Golden Age. By exploring the *Fasti*'s participation in the Augustan discourses of antiquarianism, genealogy, dynasticism, and generational continuity, I demonstrate a pattern whereby the *Fasti* lays bare the contemporary political manipulation of these discourses and the contradictions among them, but simultaneously contributes to their 'naturalization' by representing them as present in the founding acts of Rome. The calendar figures among these Augustan discourses on time, and is, of course, treated extensively in the *Fasti*. Ovid makes a display of the ideological manipulation of the calendar, but also treats the calendar as a basic tool for building social stability and meaning. The poem acknowledges and explores the connection between control of the calendar and power in the process of constructing itself as a calendar, raising the question of the relationship between authoritative and individual constructions of the ritual year. The effect is not so much a deflation of the calendar's potential to build meaning as an exploration of its mechanisms for doing so.

The next chapter continues to address both the question of Ovid's 'authority' to use the calendrical discourse, and the question of how he conceptualizes the calendar by examining the equation the poem makes between poetic composition (particularly its own composition) and the related acts of city-founding and calendar-building. While

poetry is occasionally represented as an act of foundation in the *Fasti*, city- and calendar-founding are also quite often figured as poetic composition. This equation between foundation and composition begins to suggest that the *Fasti* uses a poetic model to theorize the festal year, its 'authors,' and its reception by its 'audience.' I explore this model and its implications for our understanding of the *Fasti*'s didactic project by examining the didactic structure of the poem and its relationship to the calendrical model. A structure highly mimetic of the year's progress (one book per month, observations of passing days) allows the graphic conventions of the epigraphical calendars to interact with our expectations of unity, continuity and discontinuity in poetic composition to facilitate Ovid's exploration of the experience and organization of meaning in the Roman year. The one-book-per-month structure, and its correlate in the graphically separate spaces of the epigraphical calendars encourage readers to take the book/month as a significant organizing structure which defines as a coherent set the rites it contains. Other elements of the didactic and graphic forms point to the need for continuous reading of the *Fasti*, a practice which critics have recently begun to explore. I suggest that the equivalencies the *Fasti* sets up between its poetic didactic structure and the calendrical structures give Ovid a way of exploring the exegetical connections that the calendar encourages its readers to make. His poem is as much about the way the calendar organizes its contents as about the contents themselves. The calendrical structure presents its contents as a system, divided into columns and sub-columns, and thereby asks its viewers to give meaning to that system, to interpret those graphic divisions. Ovid's poem translates that systematization into didactic structures and categories, and presents a 'reading' of the calendar in the poetic connections it makes among the rites of the year. An understanding of the calendrical structure as one which asks for and encourages exegesis, as essentially open, fundamentally changes the ways we think about Ovid's use of that structure.

Chapter 3 uses a close study of Book 4 of the *Fasti* to demonstrate the interdependence of poetic and cultural realities in the poem. As I noted above, the proem to Book 4 particularly invites an investigation of the interaction of calendar, politics, and poetics, as the poet defends his calendrical project to the patroness of his earlier amatory elegy. Venus' status both as goddess of love and as the

mother of Aeneas, the Julian *gens*, and the Roman people as a whole, overtly politicized by Augustus, make this central proem and the poet's negotiations with Venus emblematic of the general problems of the poem's poetics. I argue that the Venus hymned in the proem is a poetic and religio-political creation of the poet which responds to Augustan and elegiac ideologies of Venus and is designed to organize the meaning of the book and the month that it introduces. A study of Book 4's exegesis of the rites of a variety of goddesses shows the unified conception of the book, and demonstrates the poetic strategies by which Ovid builds associative connections between these goddesses. I argue that many of these connections, though historically 'wrong,' were part of the popular conceptions of these goddesses. I suggest that the cultural model of the calendar had the potential to build or encourage these or similar connections (i.e., through the placement of holidays on the same day, through juxtaposition of holidays, through visual balancing of the blocks of days dedicated to Magna Mater, Ceres, and Flora, etc.). These connections and strategies of building meaning, only conjectural for the graphic calendars, are made clearer by the *Fasti*'s exegesis and its use of analogous poetic strategies of connection. In particular, the proemic figure of Venus, a figure which both is organized by and organizes the rites within the month, demonstrates the discursive nature of the calendar, its continual dialogue with other political, religious and cultural modes of organizing the world.

I next return in a more detailed way to Augustus' calendrical manipulations, looking at how the *Fasti* responds to the addition of Julio-Claudian holidays to the calendar. As I noted above, the effectiveness of the Julio-Claudian holidays as propaganda relied in part on their integration into the pre-existing, eminently stable calendrical structure. Paradoxically, this integration brought a high degree of rapid, visible change to the structure on whose appearance of stability and continuity it depended for success. Does the poem's mimetic structure 'show' the novelty of the new additions to the year or does it fully incorporate them into its system of signification? Conversely, do Augustus' placements of these holidays show the sorts of calendrical strategies of association we suggested in Chapter 3? Critics have argued that the Julio-Claudian holidays, because of their prescribed meanings, are not open to multiple interpretations, freezing the exegetical process that kept the calendar relevant, and that

Ovid's treatments of the Augustan and Tiberian additions show the constraints of this new prescriptive use of the calendar.[37] I demonstrate, however, that Augustus and his successor's use of the calendar as an ideological tool was much more complex than a simple fixing of meaning, and that it in fact took advantage of the structures of the calendar which encouraged the building of associative connections. In the *Fasti*, Ovid responds to some associative connections which seem designed by the *princeps* and builds others which were perhaps less expected. Once the Julio-Claudian holidays are inscribed in the calendrical structure, their meanings are transformed and reinterpretations are necessary as the calendar and historical circumstances continue to develop. Ovid's integration of these new holidays into his poetic reading of the year demonstrates both the ideological power of the Roman calendar and the dependence of that power on continual reinterpretation.

The last chapter focuses on the final two books of the half-finished poem, arguing that the multiple etymologies of the paired months of May and June ask the reader to turn attention to the relation of old to young, past to present, and simultaneously to the month-pair just over the horizon. A study of the paired proems of Books 5 and 6, in each of which a set of three goddesses presents to the poet three alternate etymologies for the month-name, demonstrates a central focus on the idea of *maiestas*, 'greaterness', that plays out on a number of different levels: one pair of etymologies (May from *maiores*, June from *iuniores*) gives the theme an explicit generational interpretation; an allegorical theogony of an invented goddess Maiestas explores the relation of personal power to the social structure; a recurring glance toward the overthrow of Saturn by Jupiter combines these two aspects of *maiestas*; and finally the interaction between the goddess Concordia and the other two 'contestants' in the proem of Book 6 brings to the fore the difficult balance between the competition implicit in the comparative root of *maiestas* and the ideal of peaceful concord. In all of these explorations of *maiestas* an 'historical' aspect emerges as well, driven, I argue, by the prospect of the months of *Iulius* and *Augustus*, renamed for Caesar and his adoptive son, which loom just past the close of the poem. The new month names play upon and reconfigure the idea of generational succession

[37] Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 70–72; Newlands, *Playing with Time*, *passim*.

implied in the most common etymologies of May and June to bring to issue the interaction between generational or historical *maiestas* and the personal power that reaches its apex in Augustus. Further readings in the body of the two books show that Ovid continues to view the months of May and June through a lens focused by the next months and by the relation between Augustus and the late-Republican past embodied in Caesar. Here, then, Ovid enters upon a reading of the large-scale calendrical structure to interpret May and June as in some sense redefined or reoriented by the 'new' months that succeed them.

This process of subtle reorientation lies at the center of Ovid's conception of his calendar poem. He, like the French revolutionaries many centuries later, saw the ideological power of the calendrical shaping of time, and he saw that power tapped by a extremely careful hand. The very fact of the Julio-Claudian revisions has to have made contemporaries see the calendar anew and ask new questions: Why did Augustus put that holiday there? Why did he choose *Sextilis* for 'his' month? And why is he paying attention to the calendar at all? Ovid's unique program and structure make possible an extended meditation on what the calendar does, what it means, and *how* it means, an exploration of the calendar's poetics, which is also an exploration of its politics.

CHAPTER ONE

THE POLITICS OF *TEMPORA*

The last years of Augustus' life and those just after his death, the years during which Ovid's *Fasti* was composed and revised, found Rome poised on the brink of a new definition of her future and a re-reading of the past that brought her to that point. If in earlier years Augustus' gradual negotiation and adjustment of his own position in relation to the Republican past and the dictatorship of Caesar had been at center stage, now the steadily growing importance and uncertainty of the succession found Rome also concerned with the future, and with the assurance of continuity and stability.[1] Janus, the *Fasti*'s first divine informant and a god of programmatic importance for the *Fasti*,[2] seems to stand at this historical point, looking before him and behind him at once: *Iane biceps, anni tacite labentis origo,/solus de superis qui tua terga vides* [Two-headed Janus, font of the silently slipping year, the only god who can see his own back] (1.65–66). As the god of each new beginning, but one who "sees his back" as well, Janus provides a link between past, present and future. The poet addresses to him a prayer for the continuance of the "worry-free peace" provided by Rome's present leaders, her *duces*, who are now plural as a new one succeeds to the first. Janus might seem an unlikely candidate for a guarantor of stability—his old name, after all, was Chaos—but his description of the means by which chaos gave way to the present order is telling:

me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant:
aspice quam longi temporis acta canam.
lucidus hic aer et quae tria corpora restant,
ignis, aquae, tellus, unus acervus erat.

[1] Cf. Hardie, "Mutability of Rome," 61; P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. A. Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 192–238.

[2] On Janus as an emblem of the *Fasti* itself, or of the position of the poet vis-à-vis his material: Hardie, "Janus episode;" Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 229–37; Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 6–7.

ut semel haec rerum secessit lite suarum
inque novas abiit massa soluta domos,
flamma petit altum, propior locus aera cepit,
sederunt medio terra fretumque solo.

[The ancients (for I am an antiquity) called me Chaos: behold, how long-passed are the deeds I sing. This bright air and the three remaining elements, fire, water, and earth, used to be a single heap. When, all at once, by the conflict of its own elements, this mass separated and, dissolving, departed for new abodes, the flame sought the heights, a nearer place received the air, and the land and sea settled at ground level.]

(1.103–10)

In this cosmogony, it is the *lis* itself, the disagreement and tension between the elements, that orders the world, giving each thing its proper place.[3] The *Fasti*'s cosmogony, which is also the story of Janus' 'birth,' points to the particular ideology of the late-Augustan period which emphasized stability and concord, but was underlain with tensions both civil and familial. In addition, this balancing act of warring elements which does not settle conflict, but rather uses its tensions to build order, might stand as an emblem of the complexities of Augustan ideologies of time and history.[4] In particular, we find in the Augustan period a multiplicity of meanings assigned to the past which, though logically contradictory, converge to build stability and continuity for the future.[5] This chapter explores how

[3] The significance of the wording here is most clear when compared with the cosmogony of the *Metamorphoses* (1.5–75). Conflict, which is the instrument of order in the *Fasti*, is figured in the *Metamorphoses* as the defining characteristic of the chaotic state (*non bene iunctarum discordia semina rerum* [1.9]; *obstabat* [1.18]; *pugnabant* [1.20]); the settling of the conflict (*Hanc deus et melior litem natura dirimet* [1.20]) is the birth of the cosmos, though this settlement is, of course, far from permanent (cf. R. Tarrant, "Chaos in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and its Neronian Influence," *Arethusa* 35 [2002]: 349–60). On the diverse philosophical background of the Metamorphoses' cosmogony: K. S. Myers, *Ovid's Causes: Cosmogony and Aetiology in the* Metamorphoses (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 41–43. On the "stoic orthodoxy" concerning *discordia concors* as a principle of universal order: M. Roberts, "Creation in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the Latin Poets of Late Antiquity," *Arethusa* 35 (2002): 403–15.

[4] N. Mackie, in a reading of a second cosmogony/theogony in the *Fasti* (5.11–52), has pointed to the political potential inherent in cosmogonies to comment on the present order by describing its origins: "Ovid and the Birth of Maiestas," in *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus*, ed. A. Powell (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992), 83–97.

[5] Cf. K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), who sees this multivalence as a characteristic and constitutive element of Augustanism.

Augustus' manipulations of time, history, and the future and Ovid's conception of the calendar as a tool for the organization of society negotiate the concerns of this transitional period in related ways.

The date(s) of composition of the Fasti *and the 'political context'*

Before we address the *Fasti*'s involvement in the discourses of past, present and future in this period, we must briefly address the issue of the date of composition of the poem, its revision in the last years of Ovid's life, and the political climate of the period. This question is, in its very nature, already concerned with the issues I will emphasize in the latter part of this chapter, the succession and its potential to shape the future of Rome. Ovid's decision to revise his incomplete work after Augustus' death, and his re-dedication of the work to Germanicus rather than the new *princeps* Tiberius, which is the most obvious hallmark of this revision, point to the complexity of the transition between the Augustan principate and a dynastic model of succession which would transfer the personal position of Augustus to a new ruler.

The original composition of the *Fasti* is now generally agreed to have been simultaneous with that of the *Metamorphoses*, beginning sometime after 2 B.C.E. and interrupted by the poet's exile in 8 C.E. The consensus is based both on the *Tristia*'s testimony that both poems were unfinished when Ovid left Rome,[6] and on a large set of apparent cross-references between the two poems, in which neither can be established as prior to the other.[7] Ovid undoubtedly

[6] *Tr.* 1.7.14, 2.549–56. The state of the texts has led critics to suspect "that the *Metamorphoses* was rather more, and the *Fasti* rather less, finished than Ovid seems to claim" (Hinds, *Metamorphosis*, 10). Cf. Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 3–5 for a discussion of the ambiguities of the phrase by which Ovid describes the state of completion of the *Fasti: sex ego Fastorum scripsi totidemque libellos* (*Tr.* 2.549). See also A. Barchiesi, "Endgames: Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 15 and *Fasti* 6," in *Classical Closure: Reading the End in Greek and Latin Literature*, ed. D. H. Roberts, F. M. Dunn and D. Fowler (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 181–208. No later author makes reference to or quotes from any of the "missing" books of the *Fasti*. Cf. F. Peeters, *Les "Fastes" d'Ovide: Histoire du texte* (Brussels: G. van Campenhout, 1939), 64–65.

[7] E.g., Fantham, "Ovid, Germanicus;" Hinds, *Metamorphosis*, 10–11, 42–44, 77. The most recent argument to the contrary, R. Syme's claim that the first draft of the calendar-poem was abandoned before the middle of 4 C.E. since it does not record Tiberius' adoption in June of that year (*History in Ovid* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978], 21–36), has been convincingly answered by Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and*

returned to the *Fasti* for the last time between Augustus' death in 14 C.E. and his own death in 17 or 18, dedicating the work to Germanicus and revising Book 1 to reflect this new dedicant, the apotheosis of Augustus, and his succession by Tiberius. Recent work has shown that these late revisions, previously considered to have been almost entirely limited to the first book, extended to several other passages as well, particularly in Book 5. A few of these can be dated to the final 'Germanican' revision, but others imply only exile or advancing age.[8]

Despite the (at least) double layer of composition, and the changes in Ovid's biographical situation over the course of the fifteen or more years in which he worked on the *Fasti*, there is a certain unity to the historical concerns of the period of composition, occasioned both by the now relatively stable nature of Augustus' constitutional position and by the overshadowing question of the future of the state after his death.[9] Though this question is clearest in the historical record as the story of Augustus' personal dynastic troubles, it surely had an overwhelming influence on Rome as a whole as well. For the senatorial class, the attractions of a potential renewal of the senate's power and influence may have been outweighed by the continued stability and relief from factional strife which the principate offered. In addition, Augustus' careful restoration and augmentation of the dignity, if not the real power, of the senate and the magistrates would have weakened the appeal of a true return to the earlier state of affairs.[10] Some discontent among the young *equites* is perhaps indicated by the protest of 9 C.E. against the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*, which resulted in the revisions of the *lex Papia Poppaea*:[11]

the Fasti, 215–33. For further bibliography, see Hinds, *Metamorphosis*, 137 n. 23; Myers, *Ovid's Causes*, 63 n. 10.

[8] Fantham, "Ovid, Germanicus," and "Role of Evander;" E. Lefèvre, "Die Schlacht am Cremera in Ovids *Fasten* 2.195–242," *RhM* 123 (1980): 152–62, and "Die Lehre von der Entstehung der Tieropfer in Ovids *Fasten* 1.335–456," *RhM* 119 (1976): 39–64.

[9] W. Eder, "Augustus and the Power of Tradition: The Augustan Principate as Binding Link between Republic and Empire," in *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, eds. K. A. Raaflaub, M. Toher (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 71–122, esp. 89, 113. Cf. Fantham, "Ovid, Germanicus," 244–45. See also, Tac. *Ann.* 1.4; Vell. Pat. 2.123–24.

[10] Eder, "Power of Tradition," 113–16; C. Nicolet, "Augustus, Government, and the Propertied Classes," in *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, eds. F. Millar and E. Segal (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 89–128.

[11] Liv. *Per.* 59; Dio 56.1–9; Suet. *Aug.* 34.1, 89.2.

this blow to the marriage legislation as a symbol of the far-reaching power of the Augustan order may imply a waning confidence in the beneficence of that order. For the populace as a whole, fear of the alternative to the *pax Augusta* was perhaps undercut by the series of natural and military disasters in the midst of that 'peace' in 5–9 C.E.: earthquakes, an eclipse, flood, fire and famine in 5–6 C.E.,[12] revolts in Pannonia (6–8 C.E.) and Dalmatia (6–9 C.E.),[13] Varus' loss of three legions in Germany in 9 C.E.;[14] a shortage of manpower which required an augmentation of pay and booty for the army.[15] The familial difficulties of the *domus Augusta*, including the deaths of Lucius (2 C.E.) and Gaius (4 C.E.), resulting in Augustus' reluctant adoption of Tiberius along with Agrippa Postumus, and, of course, the disgrace and exile of first the elder (2 B.C.E.), then the younger Julia (8 C.E.),[16] can not have reassured a populace worried about the future. Indeed, the rumors of political intrigue that lurk behind the exiles in our historical sources point to the weakened position of Augustus' authority in this period.[17] Several scholars have pointed to the public emphasis on Concordia in this period, demonstrated by Tiberius' dedication of a temple in the Forum to the goddess and Livia's dedication of a smaller shrine on the Oppian hill, as an indication of a growing *discordia*. The cult of Concordia had long stood to promote the ideal of a political *concordia ordinum* and to this was now added the equally fleeting ideal of familial harmony within the ruling family.[18]

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[12] Dio 55.22.3, 26.2–5.

[13] Dio 55.28.3 ff.; Suet, *Tib.* 16.

[14] Vell. Pat. 117.1; Dio 56.18.1–22.2.

[15] Dio 55.23.1, 24.9–25.6; Vell. Pat. 111.1.

[16] B. Levick, "Julians and Claudians," *G&R* 22 (1975): 29–38. Cf. J. A. Crook's more cautious judgment of these events ("Political History, 30 B.C. to A.D. 14," 70–112 in *CAH*^{2}, vol. 10, 102–3 and 107–9).

[17] For general discussions of the period, see B. Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 56 ff.; T. Wiedemann, "The Political Background to Ovid's *Tristia* 2," *CQ* 25 (1975): 264–71; Crook, "Political history," 100–11.

[18] Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 168–69; B. A. Kellum, "The City Adorned: Programmatic Display at the *Aedes Concordiae Augustae*," in *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, eds. K. A. Raaflaub, M. Toher (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 276–307; M. Flory "*Sic exempla parantur*: Livia's Shrine to Concordia and the *Porticus Liviae*," *Historia* 33 (1984): 309–30; Levick, .52, 62, 152 ff. Cf. *Fasti* 1.639–50, 6.637–48. More on Concordia in the *Fasti* in Chapter 4 under "*Domus Augusta, Pax Augusta*: January 11–30," and Chapter 5 under "Concord comes at last (6.91–96)."

The temptation to discuss Ovid's personal situation in the context of these difficulties is, of course, strong. His exile in 8 C.E. has often been associated with that of the younger Julia,[19] and his banishment put him in a particular relationship with power that surely affected his views of the principate and the desirability of its continuation. Nonetheless, to focus on this biographical narrative when examining the political context of the *Fasti* is both limiting and unnecessary, and tends to force a reading of the poem which emphasizes either an apologetic and encomiastic or a critical and subversive approach to the Augustan principate and Tiberius' accession to power; that is to say, it reduces the terms of the discourse to 'Augustan' and 'anti-Augustan.'[20] Ovid's poem, though dedicated to Augustus and later to Germanicus, only carries that literary fiction so far, addressing itself to a much wider Roman audience as its didactic student, a contemporary audience shaped by the political and ideological climate. To focus on the idiosyncratic experience of the poet and to treat Augustus and Germanicus as the true addressees of the poem would cut that contemporary audience out of the picture, and

[19] The bibliography on the reasons for Ovid's exile is extensive and inconclusive. A catalog of explanations is provided by J. C. Thibault, *The Mystery of Ovid's Exile* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1964), 125–209. Recent work on the exile poetry focuses more on the thematization of exile than on the 'detective work' of discovering the cause; cf. especially Williams, *Banished Voices*.

[20] E.g., Herbert-Brown begins with the assumption that Ovid intended the *Fasti* as "a tribute to the ruler" (*Ovid and the* Fasti, 1) and this assumption shapes her inquiry. She makes explicit her "biographical scheme" in the introduction (ix). The section on the *Tristia* with which Barchiesi prefaces his readings of the *Fasti* (*The Poet and the Prince*, 15–44) predetermines his readers' interpretation of the book as a whole—perhaps a deliberate strategy here mimicking the historical reception of the *Fasti* in light of the exile poetry? Cf. also Boyle, "Postscripts from the Edge". S. G. Nugent, "Tristia 2: Ovid and Augustus," in *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, eds. K. A. Raaflaub and M. Toher (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 239–42 offers a brief survey of approaches to the problem as well as an insightful explanation of the difficulty of its solution, but concludes in the end that "the effort towards that discernment [of Ovid's politics from his poetry] must be made" (240). Nugent seems to see a de-politicization of Ovid's poetry as the only alternative to this choice between "pro-" and "anti-Augustan" (241 n. 8). McKeown's insistence on the *Fasti* as primarily literary and therefore apolitical, beyond a vague intention not to offend Augustus, misses the mark ("*Fabula proposito*"). For a wider view of the involvement of literature in politics and ideology, cf. D. Kennedy, "'Augustan' and 'Anti-Augustan': Reflections on Terms of Reference," in *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus*, ed. A. Powell (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992), 26–58. E. Fantham offers a succinct history of the question in "Recent Readings of Ovid's *Fasti*," *CP* 90 (1995): 367–78.

would reduce the modern critic to the impossible project of reconstructing the thoughts of the poet as he wrote, and the *princeps* as he read, this highly ambiguous poem. By theorizing the politics of the text in a much broader sense, I hope to escape from the trap of reading the *Fasti* as basically unsuccessful, whether because its anti-Augustanism worked against Ovid's efforts to gain favor with the powers-that-be, or because its Augustanism makes it a poetic (and moral?) failure. Rather than providing an Augustan context against which to read the *Fasti*, a critical strategy which almost necessitates measuring the poem's degree of consonance with or dissonance from a fixed dominant discourse, I will attempt to read the *Fasti* as part of its own context, engaged along with other cultural discourses in negotiating issues of central social and political importance. By reading the work as a poetic text centered on the calendar, history, and time, by discussing why those issues were of particular concern in this historical period, and by examining other contemporary political and literary discourses that address those same issues, I hope to underline the inextricability of ideology from these discourses, and from the *Fasti*.[21] Clearly, 'Augustanism' as a term describing the process of contestation and negotiation that constituted and facilitated Augustus' integration into Roman political and social structures will still be central to my argument, as I examine the ways in which the *Fasti* responds and contributes to Augustan adjustments in the ideology of time and history, but my goal is not a determination of the poet's or the poem's attitude towards Augustus.

Power and the calendar

After the invocation of Germanicus which begins the work, the *Fasti* turns to a description of the general structure of the calendar, first of the months (1.27–44), then of the days (45–62). This first discourse

[21] Cf. D. Kennedy, review of *Propertius: "Love and War": Individual and State Under Augustus*, by H.-P. Stahl, *LCM* 12.5 (1987): 72–77; and "'Augustan' and 'Anti-Augustan';" D. Feeney, "*Si licet et fas est*: Ovid's *Fasti* and the Problem of Free Speech under the Principate," in *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus*, ed. A. Powell (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992), 1–25. Feeney and Mackie ("Birth of Maiestas") both emphasize Augustus' growing intolerance of literary *libertas* when the critical pen was pointed at him. As an overtly political issue which bore directly on poetic production and reception, this theme is particularly apt for illustrating the impossibility of separating politics from poetics.

on the history of the calendar sets patterns which the poem's later excurses will expand upon or play against, and has close resonances with Augustan calendrical manipulations.

In 1.27–44, the structure of the year is represented as coeval with the city itself, and the number and names of the original ten months come from the mind of the city's founder. In his ignorance of the solar year, Romulus chooses to give the year ten months, but not without, it seems, good reasons:

> *Tempora digereret cum conditor Urbis, in anno*
> *constituit menses quinque bis esse suo.*
> *scilicet arma magis quam sidera, Romule, noras,*
> *curaque finitimos vincere maior erat.*
> *est tamen et ratio, Caesar, quae moverit illum,*
> *erroremque suum quo tueatur habet.*
> *quod satis est, utero matris dum prodeat infans,*
> *hoc anno statuit temporis esse satis;*
> *per totidem menses a funere coniugis uxor*
> *sustinet in vidua tristia signa domo.*

> [When the founder of the city was arranging time he decided there would ten months in his year. Granted, you knew more about arms than stars, Romulus, and you had more concern for conquering your neighbors. Nonetheless, there was also a rationale that moved him, Caesar, and he has a way of defending his mistake. Time enough for a baby to leave its mother's womb is time enough for a year, he decided; for the same number of months after her husband's death a wife keeps the marks of mourning in her widowed home.]
> (1.27–36)

Overly influenced by Ovid's disclaimer of Romulus' astrological observations in line 29, and perhaps by a more general expectation of a military mindset from Rome's founder, readers have emphasized the militaristic focus of these lines: the birth of children means the production of soldiers; mourning widows have lost their husbands to war.[22] A more basic but perhaps less expected reading yields three simple observations: this passage is not militaristic, but decidedly domestic and feminine in its focus; it centers on significant time

[22] Cf. King, "Spatial Form," 67; S. Hinds, "Arma in Ovid's *Fasti* Part 2: Genre, Romulean Rome and Augustan Ideology," *Arethusa* 25 (1992): 113–54; F. Stok, "L'ambiguo Romolo dei *Fasti*," in *Cultura, poesia, ideologia nell'opera di Ovidio*, eds. I. Gallo and L. Nicastri (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1991), 183–212; M. Fox, *Roman Historical Myths: The Regal Period in Augustan Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 187–88.

periods in women's lives, first as mothers and then as widows; it contains a neat resonance between the time it takes to produce a life and the time it takes to mourn a death. The two reasons for the number of months, that a baby is born to a mother in ten months, and that a wife keeps the signs of mourning in her home for ten months after her husband's death, together embracing the family as a marital and generational bond, as well as the cycle of life and death, begin to give us an idea of what the calendar does: in its basic structure (the number of months) it describes the most basic structures of Roman life.

In the naming of the first four months, the same familial and generational patterns are reiterated, but with a more masculine slant: *Martis erat primus mensis, Venerisque secundus;/haec generis princeps, ipsius ille pater:/tertius a senibus, iuvenum de nomine quartus* [The first month belonged to Mars, the second to Venus; she was the first of his line, he was the founder's own father; the third was named for the old men, the fourth for the young] (1.39–41). Romulus' year started with March, named for Mars, his father. The next month, April, was named for Venus/Aphrodite, but not as 'mother' or as consort of Mars, but as *generis princeps*. The use of the masculine noun *princeps* rather than *mater*, as well as the implication of the goddess' masculine Julian descendants (now *principes* at Rome), does not entirely wipe out the pairing of Mars and Venus as male and female 'parents' of the Roman nation, but neither does it fully exploit the familial and erotic potential of that pairing; both gods are named in essentially masculine roles (*pater* and *princeps*).[23] In addition, the etymological tracing of May and June to *maiores* and *iuniores* reiterates the generational patterns of the earlier lines, but outside of the domestic context of birth. Instead this line emphasizes the generations as social groups, and, particularly, as groups of men: *senes* inevitably includes the idea of *senatores; senes* and *iuvenes* also evoke the division of the male populace into *seniores* and *iuniores* in defining their eligibility for military service.[24]

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[23] The *Fasti*'s later excursuses on the same etymologies will be more explicit in the pairing of Venus and Mars both as parents of the Romans and as lovers: 4.57–60, 129–30.

[24] L. Ross Taylor, "*Seviri equitum romanorum* and Municipal *seviri*: A Study of Pre-military Training among the Romans," *JRS* 14 (1924): 158–71; King, "Spatial Form," 105–06.

Here, as often in the discussion that will follow, the literal accuracy of the etymology is not the question. Not only is *Maius*' derivation from *maiores* highly suspect, but the proposition that *maiores* = *seniores* = *senatores* is flawed. *Maiores*, without a qualifying ablative such as *natu* or *aetate*, most easily means ancestors;[25] the natural opposite of *iuniores* is not *maiores* but *seniores*, as this very passage demonstrates. Etymological logic is sacrificed to the representation of the months as mimicking or building social structures. The etymologies, and the idea that they represent a division of duties between the generations of the male populace are widespread, and date back at least to the *fasti* posted by Fulvius Nobilior in the temple of Hercules Musarum in the early second century B.C.E.[26] The fact that they were plausible enough to merit attention bears witness to the strong cultural expectation that the structure of the calendar echoes or describes social structures.

In this first excursus on the origin and structure of the calendar, then, we see Romulus representing a gendered division between the feminine/domestic sphere in the number of months and the masculine/political/military sphere in the names of the months; the two are joined by a generational pattern, represented, on the one hand, through the pattern of birth and death, on the other, through a division of political duties according to age. Nonetheless, the interrelation of these two spheres and the difficulty of fully dividing political from domestic or public from private in Roman life is also discernible in the *Fasti*'s exposition of the calendrical structures: as we saw, the *ratio* of the number of months, which by its nature involves all the months, is given a feminine/domestic slant; conversely, the Mars-Venus month pair, which might have offered occasion for a *pater*-in-the-field, *mater*-in-the-home polarity, is skewed by the naming of Venus with the politically charged *princeps*. The generational patterning as well links home to political life, as the children whose gestational period defines the length of the year grow to succeed their fathers as the *iuniores* for whom the month of June is named. In this

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[25] Cf. Book 5, where the presence of the Lemuria's rites of the dead in the month of May is used as evidence both of the derivation of the month's name from *maiores*, and of the Romulean ten-month year. Before Numa added a whole month dedicated to the dead (February), the logical place for such a rite was the month of May, the month dedicated to the *maiores*, living and dead (5.423–28). Cf. *TLL*, *s.v.* "magnus," 144.5 A.

[26] Macr. 1.12.16. See also Var. *L.L.* 6.33, Fest. 120L.

paradigmatic first treatment of the calendar, Ovid has Romulus found the calendar as a correlative of the foundation of the city, and build the most basic structures of Roman society into the basic structures of his calendar. As we will see below, later expositions of names of months, especially of May and June, although each is slanted to its rhetorical context, share this passage's emphasis on the months as representative of parts of society and on the calendar as an ideological instrument.

Ovid's political interpretation of the calendar's broadest structures should not be surprising. Recent work on the Roman calendar and the changes it underwent under Caesar and Augustus has called attention to the calendar's potential as a tool of social control and transformation. That those in power found the calendar worth their attention is clear. Caesar's thorough overhaul of the calendar brought the days per year from 355 to our current 365 and provided for an intercalary day (our 'leap-day') once every four years to keep the calendar in close alignment with the solar year. Augustus' own corrections, accomplished in 8 C.E., merely reestablished the Julian calendar after a period of erroneous intercalation under the pontificate of M. Lepidus, beginning in 44 B.C.E.[27] Even before the Julian reforms, the manipulation and exegesis of the calendar served a variety of political ends. A. Michels' reconstruction of the history of the pre-Julian calendar posits pontifical manipulations of the characters of the days for patrician political purposes as the motive for Cn. Flavius' publication of a calendar listing all the days of the year along with their characters in 304 B.C.E. or soon before.[28] Late-Republican instances of the use of festivals to postpone *comitia* and the manipulation of intercalation to extend or curtail the duration of year-long magistracies are widely reported.[29] In a broader sense, as J. Rüpke

[27] Lepidus seems to have interpreted Caesar's revisions as calling for an intercalary day every three years, rather than every four, so by the time Augustus entered the pontificate in 12 B.C.E., the calendar year was three days behind the solar one. Beginning in 8 B.C.E. Augustus compensated for Lepidus' error by holding no leap days for the next twelve years. The first normal intercalation on the Julian model occurred in 8 C.E. The general outlines of Caesar's reform, and the error in intercalation after his death are compiled from the following: Plin. *N.H.* 18.211, Suet. *Aug.* 31.2, Solin. 1.40–47, Macr. 1.14.13–15; see discussions in Bömer, *Fasten*, vol. I, 16 ff. and 39 ff.; P. Brind'amour, *Le calendrier romain* (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1983), 11–15; Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit*, 369–91.

[28] A. Michels, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 108–18.

[29] Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 19–20. See also Cic. *Ad Fam.* 88.5.2–3 and

has argued, the calendar in all its levels functioned to temporally organize society and to reflect that organization back to the Roman public.[30]

The Julian calendar, by stabilizing the year and (after 8 C.E.) regularizing the pattern of intercalation, eliminated this sort of overtly political use of the calendar; on an ideological level, however, the calendar remained a subtle means of social and political control. The stabilization of the year and its synchronization with the solar year, along with the *princeps*' clear interest in the calendar, seems to have led to a boom in inscribed calendars, some on a monumental scale, so that the calendar was more visible and central than ever before.[31] M. Beard has emphasized the "pageant of what it was to be Roman" constituted by the calendar and the exegesis that went with it,[32] and has also emphasized the literate and visual aspect of the calendar's effect: when looking at the inscribed calendars, an individual could see the whole "pageant" at once, making connections and asking questions prompted by the graphic form.[33] A. Wallace-Hadrill situates the Augustan changes to the calendar in the context of a more general insertion of the *princeps* into Roman time, historical, civil, celestial, and religious; this in turn was only one facet of his intrusion "into every corner of Roman life and consciousness, transforming it in the process."[34] The calendar and the proliferation of exegesis on it also forms part of R. Gordon's argument that Roman religion became increasingly mystified and mystifying in the transitional years between republic and empire.[35] The preservation of arcane and archaic religious institutions, objects and rites, Gordon argues, was

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commentary ad loc. in *Cicero, Epistulae Ad Familiares*, D. R. Shackleton Bailey, ed. and comm. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 2; Michels, *Calendar*, 45–46.

[30] Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit.*

[31] K. Sansone, "The *Fasti* of Ovid" (Ph. D. diss. University of Wisconsin, 1973), 48; J. Rüpke, "Ovids Kalenderkommentar: Zur Gattung der libri fastorum," *A&A* 40 (1994): 125–36, esp. 35 and *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit,* 417–25.

[32] Beard, "Complex."

[33] M. Beard, "Writing and religion: *Ancient Literacy* and the function of the written word in Roman religion," in *Literacy in the Ancient World*, ed. J. H. Humphrey (Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1991), 35–58, esp. 53–57.

[34] Wallace-Hadrill, "Time for Augustus."

[35] R. Gordon, "From Republic to Principate: priesthood, religion and ideology," in *Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, eds. M. Beard and J. North (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 177–98.

a means of "institutionalizing unintelligibility" (188–89). Exegesis did not aim to *clarify* the meaning of origins and rites (witness the multiple etiologies of the *Fasti* itself), but rather maintained the social domination of the elite by constructing the illusion that these structures and rites *were* intelligible, but only to a privileged few: the public performance of this arcane knowledge legitimated the power of the class that held priestly (and political) offices. Augustus' accumulation of priesthoods and his reforms of the calendar both effectively demonstrated his power and supported its continuation.

Returning to the *Fasti* and its first, and therefore paradigmatic, representation of the foundation and function of the calendar, the resonances with the new Augustan emphasis on the control of the calendar and the knowledge associated with it as a corollary to and an instrument of power are clear. Romulus' institution of the calendar is presented as a natural extension of his status as *conditor urbis*. His calendar orders society, inscribing the social roles of mother, wife, soldier, and senator, and the interrelated nature of all these roles under the rubric of generational continuity. The calendar also contributes to Romulus' own status by honoring his divine father with the name of the first month and the *princeps* of his line with the second month. That Romulus often stands in for Augustus is a commonplace in discussions of Augustan propaganda.[36] Despite the infelicities of Romulus' murder of his brother, his rape of the Sabine women, and the title of *rex*, he offered in one package a model of a city founder, a priestly figure, and a military leader, as well as a precedent for the deification of a mortal. In *Fasti* 1.27–42, Romulus appears as a founder and a civil ruler, but also as a priestly figure, controlling the calendar as the *pontifices* would later do; his emphasis on his divine kin even glances toward his already quasi-divine status. It is particularly this combination of roles that makes Ovid's representation of the calendar and society under the control of one man resonate so thoroughly with the Augustan reforms of the calendar.

[36] Cf. K. Scott, "The identification of Augustus with Romulus-Quirinus," *TAPA* 56 (1925): 82–105; J. Gagé, "Romulus—Augustus," *MEFRA* 47 (1930): 138–81. On Augustus' use of the figure of Romulus, J. D. Evans, *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 92–103. Barchiesi (*The Poet and the Prince*, 152–64) discusses Romulus in the *Fasti* as a not terribly flattering model for and reflection of Augustus. Cf. Hinds, "Arma—Part 2," which sees Ovid's treatment of Romulus in the *Fasti* as markedly negative.

The discussion that follows expands the basic pattern of correlation between calendrical and social control established in this first calendrical passage to a discussion of a set of Augustan discourses that address and structure the relationship between past, present and future: the recuperation and rewriting of the past through antiquarianism and genealogy; the extension of power into the future through an emphasis on dynasticism and generational continuity; and finally, the calendrical reforms themselves. All of these strategies are reflected in the *Fasti* and are associated in the poem with political power and often also with the foundation and revision of the calendar.

Multa exempla maiorum exolescentia: *recuperating the past*

In his *Res Gestae*, Augustus summarizes his moral legislation with the following sentence: *legibus novis me auctore latis multa exempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro saeculo reduxi et ipse multarum rerum exempla imitanda posteris tradidi* [By means of new laws passed at my initiative I brought back many ancestral examples, already beginning to disappear from our generation, and I myself passed down examples of many things to be imitated by posterity] (8.5). Augustus' claim that his new laws restore old *exempla*, and his positioning of himself as an *exemplum* for generations to come neatly express the complexity of the relationship between past, present, and future even in the most official of Augustan discourses.[37] This section will focus on two overlapping discourses that figure in Augustan propaganda and in Ovid's *Fasti* as means of recovering and rewriting the past with an eye to present political or social utility: antiquarianism and genealogy.

I begin with antiquarianism because of its centrality to the other project in question and also because of the *Fasti*'s acknowledged dependence on the Roman antiquarian tradition, particularly on Varro and Verrius Flaccus. Prose antiquarian projects had become extremely popular in the late Republic, as the rapidly changing and unstable cultural and political world of these years led to a boom in works that preserved, explained, revived, or even produced a cultural past which was seen to be slipping away.[38] Antiquity was read

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[37] Cf. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 63–64, 129.

[38] E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 3, 233–49; "Cicero the Historian and Cicero the Antiquarian,"

as a guarantor of simplicity, purity, morality and more direct access to the truth of Roman nature. Cicero in his *Academica* praises Varro's *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum* as having reeducated the Romans in their own identity: *nam nos in nostra urbe perigrinantis errantisque tamquam hospites tui libri quasi domum reduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando qui et ubi essemus agnoscere* [Your books have led us, foreigners in our own city and wandering like guests, back home, so to speak, so that at last we can recognize who and where we are] (1.9). Augustus' revival of traditional *mores*, as he presents it in *Res Gestae* 8.5, might be read as a similar strategy, a symptom of the same conditions of instability, and he too "leads back" [*reduxi*] in order to correct his errant age. The emerging antiquarian tradition clearly had a significant influence on the composition of the *Fasti*: the poem's emphasis on etymological exegesis, its etiological approach, its explanations of obscure details of religion, all point to a connection with antiquarian discourse, and its dependence on Varro and especially Verrius Flaccus has long been established.[39] Though direct reference to research is not common in the *Fasti*, and specific book-sources are never given, Ovid once names an inscription as his source (3.844), and mentions the study of both Roman and Latin calendars.[40] In addition, the narrator's frequent claims to autopsy[41] and to interviews with aged informants[42] are surely to be read as research. The

JRS 62 (1972): 33–45, 35; A. Momigliano, "The Theological Efforts of the Roman Upper Classes in the First Century B.C.," *CPh* 74 (1984): 199–211; *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 58–68; H. Cancik, "Rome as Sacred Landscape: Varro and the End of Republican Religion in Rome," *Visible Religion* 4 (1985): 250–65; M. K. Jaeger, "The Poetics of Place: The Augustan writers and the urban landscape" (Ph.D. diss. University of California at Berkeley, 1990), 16–17; C. Edwards, *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 4–6, 16–17.

[39] Bömer, *Fasten* vol. 1, 22–24. Cf. J. Miller, "The *Fasti* and Hellenistic Didactic: Ovid's Variant Etiologies," *Arethusa* 25 (1992): 11–31. Miller notes the dependence of the work on Roman antiquarian handbooks, but is more interested in the variety of redeployments of antiquarian information and discursive patterns in didactic and hymnic modes, taking the handbooks themselves as nearly a neutral term in the play of discursive models.

[40] 1.289, 657–59; 3.87–98; 6.57–63. This is implied elsewhere, as well: 2.55–58, where the poet is prompted by the calendrical notice of the *dies natalis* of a temple of Juno Sospita to look for the temple itself, now ruined; 6.649, where the poet remarks that there is no mark on the coming day (*nulla nota est*); 3.429, where there is one mark (*una nota est Marti nonis*).

[41] 2.27; 3.523–42; 4.725–28, 905–42; 5.129–46; 6.219–34, 237–38.

[42] 2.571–82, 586; 4.377–78, 683–90; 6.395–416.

phrase Ovid twice uses to describe the rites he treats as "dug out of ancient annals" [*annalibus eruta priscis*] (1.7, 4.11) closely echoes Varro's description of his own project in the *de lingua Latina: quae obruta vetustate ut potero eruere conabor* [Things buried by antiquity I will try to dig out as best I can] (6.2).

In a modern historiographical sense, the rise of antiquarianism is quite clearly 'political.' Just as historical prose arose at Rome when it became necessary to define the young city within the Greek mainstream of historical thought and later as culturally comparable or even superior to its newly conquered Greek subject cities,[43] antiquarianism arose as a response to a crisis in the identity of the state. We can see hints at contemporary awareness of the political significance of these projects. Varro's *Antiquitates rerum divinarum* of 47 B.C.E. was dedicated to Caesar in his role as *pontifex maximus* (Lact. *Inst.* 1.6.7; Aug. *C.D.* 7.35), but surely also with an awareness of his position as dictator; Varro's own formulation of his motivation for writing the work (as reported by Augustine) seems highly political when we consider its composition in the midst of civil war:

> *Cum vero deos eosdem ita coluerit colendosque censuerit ut in eo ipso opere litterarum suarum dicat se timere ne pereant, non incursu hostili, sed civium neglegentia, de qua illos velut ruina liberari a se dicit et in memoria bonorum per eius modi libros recondi atque servari utiliore cura quam Metellus de incendio sacra Vestalia et Aeneas de Troiano excidio penates liberasse praedicatur.*
>
> [Since indeed he so worshipped these same gods and so thought them worthy of worship that in this very work he says he fears lest they perish, not by an enemy attack, but by citizens' neglect. And he says he is freeing them from this as if from ruin and that through books of this sort the gods are stored away in the memory of good men and are saved more effectively than when Metellus freed Vesta's sacred objects from the fire and Aeneas saved the *penates* from the fall of Troy.]
>
> (Aug. *C.D.* 6.2)

Varro's comparison of the effects of *civium neglegentia* to those of a foreign attack, his emphasis on the *boni* as the preservers of tradition, and his claim that his efforts to rescue and restore the worship

[43] E. Badian, "The Early Historians," in *Latin Historians*, ed. T. A. Dorey (New York: Basic Books, 1966), 2–11; B. Frier, *Libri Annales Pontificum Maximorum: The Origins of the Annalistic Tradition* (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1979), 201–14, 280–84; A. S. Gratwick, "Prose Literature," in *CHCL*, vol. 2 (1982), 138–54, esp. 149–51.

of the gods is a greater service than Metellus' or Aeneas' rescue of the *pignora imperii*, objects whose preservation is quasi-magically linked to the survival of the Roman state,[44] all touch on the fear of dissolution occasioned by the civil war.[45] Varro implicitly figures his work as a political project, and his biography hints at Caesar's and later Augustus' cultivation of the antiquarian as an ally: though the scholar had associated himself with Pompey before and during the civil war, he was nonetheless given charge of collecting a new library by Caesar in 46; after Caesar's death, Varro was proscribed, but again was pardoned and continued to work under the second triumvirate and Octavian until his death in 27 B.C.E.[46] I will not insist that we read into this brief biography Caesar's awareness of the usefulness of having a professional reconstructor of the past on his side, but for the next generation, the hints are clearer. Augustus chose his freedman, the grammarian and antiquarian Verrius Flaccus, as tutor for his grandsons, and Verrius responded with service to Augustus' reconstruction of the past and to the ideology that made the past a repository of *Romanitas*, most famously in his publication of an annotated calendar, of which the *Fasti Praenestini* are an abridgment.[47] C. Julius Hyginus, another scholar-freedman of Augustus, was appointed librarian of the Palatine library; his religious and antiquarian researches, in particular his *de familiis Troianis*, supported Augustus' propaganda on the past and its connection to the present. Dionysius of Halicarnassus

[44] *Pignora imperii* in the *Fasti*: 3.354 (of the ancile); 3.422 (of Vesta and Caesar); 6.365 (*pignora Vestae*); 6.417–60 (of contents of temple of Vesta/Palladium); the story of Metellus' rescue of the sacred objects within the temple of Vesta is told at 6.437–54. Servius lists seven *pignora* at *Aen.* 7.188: *septem fuerunt pignora, quae imperium Romanum tenent: † aius matris deum, quadriga fictilis Veientanorum, cineres Orestis, sceptrum Priami, velum Ilionae, palladium, ancilia.* Though many items in the list are clearly late, they show the idea of connection to the ancient past, particularly to Troy, and the transferal of power from a fallen city or culture to Rome. Though the *penates populi Romani* are nowhere explicitly named as *pignora imperii*, their rumored residence in the *penus Vestae* and the story that they were brought from Troy by Aeneas puts them in the same category as the often unnamed *sacra Vestalia*. See also, of the Palladium: Cic. *Scaur.* 23.48; *Phil.* 11.10.24; Liv. 5.52.7, 26.27.14 (associated with *ignis aeternus* of Vesta and *ancilia*); of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus: Tac. *Hist.* 3.72. Cf. Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 46–47 and 80.

[45] Cf. Rawson, "Cicero" 35; for the effect of the civil wars on Roman religious thought, see Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, 55–100.

[46] H. Dahlmann, *RE* suppl. 6, coll. 1177–78, *s. v.* "M. Terentius Varro;" C. M. C. Green, "Varro's Three Theologies and their Influence of the *Fasti*," in *Ovid's* Fasti: *Historical Readings at its Bimillenium*, ed. G. Herbert-Brown (Oxford: Oxford Classical Press, 2002), 71–99, esp. 72–73.

[47] Suet. Gram. 17; Macr. Sat. 1.10.7, 1.12.15.

also makes a point of having produced his massive *Antiquitates* under the auspices of the *pax Augusta* (1.3.5, 1.7.2). In addition, F. Millar has drawn attention to a pattern in Augustan propaganda of appropriating and immortalizing antiquarian researches: the *fasti consulares* and *triumphales* in the Parthian arch, the *imagines* and *elogia* of the Forum Augustum and the reconstruction of ancient temples are just a few examples of Augustus' monumentalization of late-Republican antiquarian projects.[48]

That the *Fasti*'s poet poses as an antiquarian is quite clear. However, particular episodes in the poem also point to contradictions and difficulties inherent in antiquarian discourse, especially in its relations to power.[49] The figure of Janus that we examined at the start of this chapter plays throughout his interview with the poet on the basic antiquarian premise associating the antique past with purity and simplicity. He claims that the Romans have always loved money (1.191–94) and concedes the appeal of modern innovations like gilded temples (1.221–26). In each case, however, he quickly shifts back to praise of the remote past (1.197–208, 235–254). This shifting of position, which has been noted by other scholars,[50] plays out contradictions inherent in the discourse and methods of antiquarianism: antiquarians work toward the pure truth of the past by extrapolation from elements of the present culture, but they represent their research as reconstituting the past for the moral improvement of the present. The methodology thus posits a past largely continuous with and similar to the present, while the rhetoric suggests a broken continuum and a lost past that was morally superior to the present. Varro's analogy likening his researches to the rescue of a *pignus imperii* is an excellent illustration of this tension: the idea of a magical object whose preservation ensures the stability of the city vividly marks the continuity of past with present, while the necessity of its rescue in order to 'save' the present suggests a radical privileging of the past as qualitatively different from and better than the present.

[48] F. Millar, "Cornelius Nepos, 'Atticus' and the Roman Revolution," *G&R* 35 (1988): 40–55. Cf. T. J. Luce, "Livy, Augustus and the Forum Augustum," in *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, eds. K. A. Raaflaub and M. Toher (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 123–38, esp. 135–38.

[49] Cf. M. Pasco-Pranger. "*Vates operosus*: Vatic Poetics and Antiquarianism in Ovid's *Fasti*," *CW* 93 (2000): 275–91.

[50] Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 229–37, and Hardie, "Janus;" cf. also Hardie, "Mutability of Rome," 72–75.

Janus also neatly exemplifies a tendency to which J. Miller has drawn attention: the etiologies of the *Fasti* are frequently oriented towards the intended *purpose* of a rite or other cultural *datum* and thus look to the present (or the future), rather than towards the past.[51] Janus supplies just this sort of teleological etiology at 1.167–70, 173–74, and 187–88. The first of these cases involves a calendrical detail, and points again to the potential for social control inherent in the control of the calendar. The poet wonders about the character designation given the kalends of January in the calendars—it is marked F, that is, *fas*, okay for legal business:

> *post ea mirabar cur non sine litibus esset*
> *prima dies. 'causam percipe' Ianus ait.*
> *'tempora commisi nascentia rebus agendis,*
> *totus ab auspicio ne foret annus iners.*
> *quisque suas artes ob idem delibat agendo,*
> *nec plus quam solitum testificatur opus.'*

> [After this, I wondered why the first day wasn't free of legal disputes. 'Hear the reason,' Janus says. 'I connected the start of the year with court business lest by this day's auspice the whole year be lazy. For the same reason each person takes a taste of his own craft by practicing it on this day, and attests to his usual amount of work.']
> (1.165–70)

Janus' explanation is that a day without legal action (a *nefas* day) would be a bad omen for the rest of the year, resulting in general laziness. Though this 'manipulation' of the legal character of the day to influence social activity and attitudes is clearly symbolic, its implications run deep. The power to change the legal and religious nature of a day had been used in the early Republic to prevent the meeting of *comitia*, a crass and fairly transparent abuse of calendrical control.[52] Under Augustus, however, the same power was used in a more integrational manner, and one much more akin to the symbolic use Janus describes. The institution of a Julio-Claudian holiday was often accompanied by changes in the character of the day on which it fell.[53] These changes took advantage of established calendrical structures to enforce attitudes towards, or at least behavior during, these

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[51] Miller, "Divine Interlocutors," 173–74. See also T. Gesztelyi, "Ianus bei Ovid: Bemerkungen zur Komposition der *Fasti*," *ACD* 16 (1980): 55–56. On this tendency as typically Roman, see Myers, *Ovid's Causes*, 16–21.

[52] Michels, *Calendar*, 108–18.

[53] See Chapter 4.

new holidays. Their inscription within the ancient and accepted structures of the calendar also had symbolic value, investing them with authority and permanence. Ovid's mixing of truly antiquarian etiologies with ones like this that look quite explicitly to present social control for the 'cause' behind a cultural *datum* brings into focus the political uses to which antiquarian etiological researches might be turned.

The well-known topos of the Augustan period as the culmination of history may also come into play in the *Fasti*'s teleological etiologies. In a cosmos oriented around Augustus, etiology is not simply a search in the past for the true meaning of the present, but also a tracing of the roots of the ideal present and a way of looking towards the future.[54] Customs instituted in the past have come to fruition in the present Golden Age. Janus' answers, then, put contradictory political ideologies side by side. Either the past is better (antiquarianism) or the present is (Golden Age), and you can't have it both ways. Or can you? Janus does not seem to have any trouble doing so:

nos quoque templa iuvant, quamvis antiqua probemus,
aurea: maiestas convenit ipsa deo.
laudamus veteres, sed nostris utimur annis:
mos tamen est aeque dignus uterque coli.

[Golden temples please us too, though we approve the old-fashioned ones: their very majesty befits a god. We praise the old times, but we enjoy our own years; nevertheless both customs are equally worth keeping.]

(1.223–26)

We might remember that Augustus too acknowledged that he was using "new laws" to restore the *mos maiorum*, and in the same sentence averred both that he was renewing old *exempla*, and that his own example would be followed by posterity (*R.G.* 8.5). K. Galinsky's re-evaluation of the Golden Age motif in Augustan Rome has brought to light the highly differentiated and evolving nature of that concept. Among its contradictions is precisely the one which Janus articulates: "the difficulty of a return to the pristine Golden Age ethos, for which there was a sincere longing, amid the material splendor and standard of living of the modern Golden Age, which were appre-

[54] Cf. N. Horsfall, "Virgil and the Poetry of Explanations," *G&R* 38 (1991): 203–11; cf. also Fox, *Historical Myths*, 194–95, 224–28; Myers, *Ovid's Causes*, 97–98 and references there.

ciated just as much." Despite, or, more likely, precisely because of these contradictions, the idea of the Golden Age clearly continued to have power for the description of the Roman experience of these years, as its proliferation in art, architecture and literature demonstrates.[55] Janus' 'two-faced' view of the past, in all its complications, is thoroughly Augustan.

Perhaps the most difficult aspect of the *Fasti*'s antiquarian pose for modern readers is the poem's frequent inclusion of multiple etiologies for a single rite or detail of a rite. While Ovid's variants are often historically unlikely, or even entirely fanciful, the technique of reporting variant opinions on a given issue is typical of the prose antiquarians, and serves a prime directive of the genre, the preservation and production of tradition; the explicit choice or production of 'right' tradition is also common.[56] The *Fasti*'s frequent refusal to choose between alternatives, even when one is endorsed by tradition, the *princeps*, or both, has been read as subversive of Augustus' efforts to permanently fix the meaning of the past.[57] As with Janus' double view of the past, this extension of antiquarian discourse to its logical extreme does indeed call into question an ideology that uses antiquarianism to come to a single fixed answer, and underlines the intentionality of a choice between alternatives. Again, however, I would hesitate to read this laying bare of the roots of the discourse as directed against Augustus' reconstruction of the past. On the one hand, we have seen ample work in recent years to show that the Augustan reconstruction of the past was neither singular nor

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[55] Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 90–121, with quote on 98. On the variety of Ovid's responses and contributions to the ideology of the Golden Age, see also K. Galinsky, "Some Aspects of Ovid's Golden Age," *GB* 10 (1983): 193–205.

[56] Cf. Miller, "Hellenistic Didactic," esp. 12–17; C. Newlands, "Ovid's Narrator in the *Fasti*," *Arethusa* 25 (1992): 33–54, 38 and *Playing with Time*, 51–86; Loehr, *Mehrfacherklärungen*, 190–92; Feeney, *Literature and Religion*, 127–31. The presentation of alternatives is explicitly marked, for example, at Var. *L.L.* 5.25 by the syntax *nisi potius . . . nisi potius . . .*; cf. Plutarch's ubiquitous syntax in the *Quaestiones Romanae*· πότερον . . . ἤ . . . ἤ . . ., etc. Varro is more likely than his follower Plutarch to choose a 'right' answer when he gives alternatives: e.g., *L.L.* 5.18–20, on *caelum*; 5.48 on *Subura*; 5.53 on *Palatium*; 6.9 on *ver*; 6.12 on *Agonalia*. Cf. also Verrius Flaccus in Festus, 2L on *Augustus*; 372L on *sacra via*.

[57] E.g., "Under cover of a seemingly indiscriminate list of alternative explanations or of another narratorial voice, he can open several different and sometimes irreverent windows onto the past, challenging established custom as well as the popular notion of the past as a primitive but worthy repository of normative Roman virtues" (Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 59).

static, but evolved and continued to be negotiated over the course of years and in response to particular social situations.[58] On the other hand, the poem seems to insist on the validity of alternative reconstructions of the past, on their multiplicity and multivalence as a way of building meaning, rather than as a way of breaking it down.[59] As M. Beard and J. Scheid have observed, the *Fasti* is part of an exegetical tradition which was in its essence creative, and did not depend on the literal, historical truth of its explanations;[60] the poem nonetheless has explanatory value: "A commentary like Ovid's *Fasti* created links between cult and reality, and . . . contributed to giving the austere and untemporal cult observances a precise temporal and even political sense."[61] The process of exegesis is necessary to the survival and vitality of the institutions on which the *Fasti* bases its discourse. Its teasing out of the conflicts inherent in antiquarianism, as well as those among Augustan ideologies of history, is thoroughly 'Augustan,' in the sense that it participates in the negotiation of the political ideologies of the period, outside of the question of the author's intentions to support or subvert these ideologies.

In its treatment of genealogy too, the *Fasti* shows an awareness of the influence of power on these reconstructions of the past through family as well as an awareness of the political utility of the 'right' genealogy. Though the ancestral traditions of particular Roman *gentes* had for many generations shaped the behavioral expectations and reputations of members of those *gentes*, the late Republic saw a growth in the popularity of legendary genealogies tracing descent from gods, founder-heroes or early kings.[62] These genealogical projects were to a certain extent simply a particular application of antiquarianism, constructing stability for both old and new members of the elite by giving them a past grounded in nobility or even divinity. Contemporaries were aware of the fictional quality of these genealogies, as

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[58] E.g., Zanker, *Power of Images*; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*; Eder, "Power of Tradition;" C. Meier, "C. Caesar Divi Filius and the Formation of the Alternative at Rome," 54–70 and J. Pollini, "Man or God: Divine Assimilation and Imitation in the Late Republic and Early Principate," 334–63 in *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, eds. K. A. Raaflaub and M. Toher (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990).

[59] See especially Loehr, *Mehrfacherklärungen*, 192–365.

[60] Beard, "Complex;" Scheid, "Myth, Cult and Reality."

[61] Scheid, "Myth, Cult and Reality," 124.

[62] T. P. Wiseman, "Legendary genealogies in Late-Republican Rome," *G&R* 21 (1974): 153–63.

Cicero's complaint about the effects of the tradition of funeral *laudationes* on the writing of history well attests:

> *Quamquam his laudationibus historia rerum nostrarum est facta mendosior. Multa enim scripta sunt in eis quae facta non sunt, falsi triumphi, plures consulatus, genera etiam falsa et ad plebem transitiones, cum homines humiliores in alienum eiusdem nominis infunderentur genus.*
>
> [And yet our history has become quite full of lies because of these speeches of praise. For many things have been written in them that didn't happen: fabricated triumphs, multiple consulships, even faked families and patricians crossing over to the plebs, with men of humbler birth flooding into other people's families that share the same name.]
>
> (*Brut.* 62)

Cicero's litany of potential manipulations of family traditions for the aggrandizement of the present generation and his concern about the real-world efficacy of these distortions of genealogy indicate that they were, in fact, an effective form of self-promotion. In the triumviral period and afterward, Varro and Hyginus' works *de familiis Troianis*[63] as well as the *Aeneid*'s litany of eponymous Trojans for the Roman *gentes*[64] attest to the particular *cachet* in descent from a member of Aeneas' party. The special status 'Trojan families' enjoyed was due in large part to the rise of Caesar and the claim of the Julian family that it descended from Aeneas' son Iulus, and through him from Venus.[65] Octavian, upon his adoption by Caesar, had this ready-made Julian genealogy at his disposal, which he used to his full advantage, and soon had a divine father to add to the other gods in his family tree.

In the *Fasti* this genealogical manipulation is retrojected onto Romulus, with Augustus always in the background, as the founder writes his own genealogy into the calendar he composes. The *Fasti*'s most extensive treatment of the Julian genealogy comes in the proem of Book 4, in the context of an attribution of the name of the *mensis Aprilis* to Venus/Aphrodite. The relevance of the etymology to Caesar

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[63] On Varro: Serv. *Aen.* 5.704; Dahlmann, *RE* suppl. 6, coll. 1241–42, *s. v.* "M. Terentius Varro;" on Hyginus: Serv. *Aen.* 5.389; H. Funaioli, *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1969), 526.11.

[64] *Aen.* 5.116–17, 121–23, 568. Cf. Horsfall, "Virgil," 204 and 208; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 193–210.

[65] First attested in Caesar's funeral oration of 69 B.C.E. for his aunt (Suet. *Iul.* 6.1).

(probably Augustus here, but possibly Germanicus, or even Tiberius)[66] is made clear:

Siqua tamen pars te de fastis tangere debet,
Caesar, in Aprili quod tuearis habes:
hic ad te magna descendit imagine[67] *mensis,*
et fit adoptiva nobilitate tuus.
hoc pater Iliades, cum longum scriberet annum,
vidit et auctores rettulit ipse tuos:
utque fero Marti primam dedit ordine sortem,
quod sibi nascendi proxima causa fuit,
sic Venerem gradibus multis in gente receptam
alterius voluit mensis habere locum;
principiumque sui generis revolutaque quaerens
saecula, cognatos venit adusque deos.

[But if any part of the calendar should touch you, Caesar, you have something to pay attention to in April: this month comes down to you through the image of a great ancestor, and became yours by adoptive nobility. Father [Romulus], Ilia's son, when he was writing the long year, saw this and he himself reported your sources; and just as he gave fierce Mars the first lot in order, because he was the most immediate cause of his birth, thus he wanted Venus, gathered into his family many generations back, to have a place in the second month; and seeking his family's beginning and the rolled-out generations, he came finally to divine kin.]

(4.19–30)

The surprising reference to the adoptive nature of Augustus' relation to the Julii (or Germanicus' or Tiberius') may be a first hint at the intentionality and political motivation of genealogical construction reflected in the rest of the passage.[68] It is Romulus, however,

[66] Lines 79–84, and possibly line 9 of this proem show post-exilic revision.

[67] The quite plausible manuscript alternative *origine* would not do great damage to my argument; the two readings give approximately the same sense, though *origine* makes for a clearer translation and is more common in this sort of expression; cf. Bömer, ad loc. However, cf. Livy's description of Ancus Martius: *Sabina matre ortum nobilemque una imagine Numae esse* (1.34.7). The reading *imagine* strengthens this particularly Roman genealogical context, making reference to the masks of the dead members of a *gens* who had held curule offices, masks worn in that family's funeral procession by actors. On this tradition, see H. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

[68] Cf. Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 172. David Potter has suggested to me that the mention of the "adoptive nobility" in this introduction to the month of April may have to do with the fact that Octavian would have learned of his testamentary adoption by Caesar in April of 44 B.C.E.

who is represented as researching his, and therefore 'Caesar's', descent from Venus. The quasi-antiquarian work Romulus performs is inscribed in the search for *auctores*, both the 'originators' of his clan and earlier written 'authorities', in the identification of a *causa* for his family, and in the 'rolling out' of the family history like a scroll.[69] There follows an impressive list of Romulus' ancestors beginning with Jupiter, the father of Dardanus (4.31–56), raising the number of Romulus' divine ancestors to three. Nevertheless, it is Mars and Venus to whom he gives the honor of the first two months of the year, and he does so with a particular purpose in mind:

ille suos semper Venerem Martemque parentes
dixit, et emeruit vocis habere fidem:
neve secuturi possent nescire nepotes,
tempora dis generis continuata dedit.

[{Romulus} always said that Venus and Mars were his parents and he deserved to be believed; and so that his grandsons to come couldn't forget it, he gave adjacent times to the gods of his family.]
(4.57–60)

The purpose clause, like Janus' present-oriented etiologies, shifts the focus of the calendar from description to prescription—Romulus wanted the future Romans to construct the past the same way he did, so he wrote down his genealogy (and Caesar's) in the calendar.[70] Near the end of the proem, one more purpose clause seems to take the intentionality of genealogy to a new level of clarity: *Assaracique nurus dicta est, ut scilicet olim/magnus Iuleos Caesar haberet avos* [{Venus} was called the daughter-in-law of Assaracus, so that, of

[69] The image of Romulus as writer and researcher of the year, and thus a model for the *Fasti*'s poet, is discussed in Chapter 2 under "Poetry and the Calendar Builders." Though the genealogical relationship of the Julians to Romulus (to whom the dominant tradition gives no children, but cf. T. P. Wiseman, "The Wife and Children of Romulus," *CQ* 33 [1983]: 445–52) is not always as clear as their relationship to Aeneas (cf. the statue program of the Forum Augustum, where Aeneas heads the set of Julian portraits, and Romulus the set of unrelated *summi viri*), in this passage an unbroken line is drawn from Iulus through the Alban kings to Romulus. Ovid's naming of Romulus with the matronymic *Iliades*, as Barchiesi points out, makes the genealogical connection to Ilium through the *Iliad*: the beginning of Romulus' genealogy is the same as Aeneas' at *Il.* 20.203 ff. (*The Poet and the Prince*, 172–73).

[70] Cf. Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 173 and n. 57.

course, great Caesar might some day have Julian ancestors] (4.123–24).[71] The context now is a list of Venus' virtues and services to the Romans that justify her inclusion in the Roman year, and this seems to be yet another service—she intentionally founded the *gens Iulia*. Alternatively, however, we could read the passive verb with its full force: Venus was *said to be* Assaracus' daughter-in-law, i.e., Anchises' wife, so that Caesar might have ancestors born from Iulus. The intentionality in this genealogical construction shifts, then, from Venus to Caesar or to the *gens Iulia* of the late Republic.

In Book 3.73–98, we find another representation of Romulus using the calendar as a means of controlling public opinion about his own genealogy, and about the relationship between his genealogy and the nature of the Roman state. As we saw above, in Book 1 the month of March is said to honor Mars as Romulus' father but it also stands as a part of a calendrical framework which mimics and reinforces both the familial structure of society and the relationship between the masculine and feminine, public and private spheres. In Book 3 Mars' role as father of the race, or as a representative father is played down; rather, his month serves as a guarantor of Romulus' *own* paternity, as the king himself explains:

'arbiter armorum, de cuius sanguine natus
credor et, ut credar, pignora multa dabo,
a te principium Romano dicimus anno:
primus de patrio nomine mensis erit.'
vox rate fit, patrioque vocat de nomine mensem:
dicitur haec pietas grata fuisse deo.

['Arbiter of arms, from whose blood I am thought born (and so that I may be thought so, I will give many proofs), we call the beginning of the Roman year for you: the first month will carry my father's name.' His speech is confirmed and he calls the month by his father's name; this filial devotion is said to have pleased the god.]
(3.73–78)

Romulus' use of the calendar to propagate and support his own version of his genealogy is explicit here. In the next lines, however, double-motivation comes into play, as the narrator steps in to explain that the ancestors of the Romans already worshipped Mars "before all" [*ante omnes*] (79), as was fitting to their warlike nature (*bellica turba*

[71] Cf. *Met.* 15.760–62: *ne foret hic igitur mortali semine cretus,/ille deus faciendus erat; quod ut aurea vidit/Aeneae genetrix* . . .

[80]). A catalogue of other cities whose principal deities show something of their nature follows in lines 81–84: Athena is appropriate to the artistic and philosophical city of Athens; Diana fits well with the poetic view of Crete, and especially its heavily thicketed mountains Ida and Dicte (cf. *Fast.* 5.118, Ver. *Aen.* 4.73); Lemnos with its 'Lemnian fire' honors Vulcan; etc. What comes next, however, is more interesting—Ovid instructs his reader to look not at the primary gods, but at the calendars of the surrounding nations, in order to see where their priorities lie (85–87). Every tribe has a month named for Mars (*mensis . . . nomine Martis*), but none of the others have it first in the year. Romulus' naming of the first month after his father not only proclaims his paternity, but also, it seems, makes a statement about Rome's valuing of war: *Romulus, hos omnes ut vinceret ordine saltem,/sanguinis auctori tempora prima dedit* [Romulus, so that he might conquer them all in order at least, gave the first time-period to the source of his blood] (3.97–98). The couplet reasserts the genealogical explanation of the month-name (*sanguinis auctori*) at the same time as it posits the new military explanation. Romulus' intentions, were, of course more than fulfilled: the Romans 'conquered' the other Latin tribes not just in the order of their months, but in war itself. Here, again, the calendar's role as a simple description or exhibition of Roman society and the genealogy of its founder is overridden by its use as an ideological tool, a means of establishing and reinforcing the power of the city- and calendar-founder, Romulus, and of the city itself. On the one hand, it is natural that the Romans have a *mensis Martius* in their calendar—the god is the father of the city's founder, and the race is warlike. On the other hand, the fact that *Martius* is first in their calendar *makes* people believe that Romulus was Mars' son (*ut credar*, 74) and *makes* the Romans victorious over its neighbors (*ut vinceret*, 97). Mars/war comes first in Rome and (therefore?) Rome comes first in war.[72]

[72] The emphasis in these lines on Rome's military character, which was played down in Book 1 in favor of the paternal Mars, fits with observations on the character of Romulus in Book 3: Stok, "L'ambiguo Romolo;" Hinds, "*Arma*—Part 2." As in the second treatment of the name of the *mensis Martius*, the second treatment of the number of months (3.99–134) places more emphasis on the military character of early Rome than the first did. Ovid's earlier *scilicet arma magis quam sidera, Romule, noras* (1.29) is expanded into a twenty line excursus pitting *sidera* against *arma* in terms reminiscent of Anchises' formulation of the Romans' role in the world at *Aen.* 6.847–53 (Hinds, "*Arma*—Part 2," 124–27). Nonetheless, as in the former

This second reason for the month name also has the effect of rendering Romulus' proof of his paternity a bit weak. If all the Latin tribes have a month named for Mars, the only distinguishing characteristic of the Roman *mensis Martius* is that it is first in the year—and it isn't! Numa's addition in the next generation of January and February has pushed Mars to third place. Looking back at the tenses of Romulus' address to his father, we can only wonder whether Romulus is not simply giving a new aetion (*primus de patrio nomine mensis erit*) to an already named month (*a te principium Romano dicimus anno*). To the extent that Romulus' order of the months has been undone, his proofs have failed. The entire aetion is witness to this failure: Romulus' concern to prove his paternity expressed in this very passage would be impossible were it not in question. Livy 1.4.2 gives us further evidence of this lingering doubt: *Vi compressa Vestalis cum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat, Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat* [Taken by force, a Vestal gave birth to twins. Whether she really thought it was the case, or whether she thought a god would be a more honorable agent of her shame, she claimed that Mars was the father of her dubious offspring]. In the *Fasti*'s conception of the role of calendars in Roman society, the displacement of Mars from the first place in the Roman year reads as a cause of this contemporary doubt of Romulus' divine paternity.

This failed proof also raises questions about genealogical projects in general: when and why does one advertise one's family? As we saw above, genealogical projects and propaganda had become particularly popular among the elite of the late Republic, and this discourse on the past was enthusiastically used and adapted by Augustus. The *princeps*' most thorough representation of his adoptive genealogy, the *imagines* and *elogia* of the northern exedra of the Forum Augustum, along with the decoration of the Temple of Mars Ultor with its representation of Venus Genetrix, Mars, and Divus Julius,

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passage, the ignorance of the stars only prevented Romulus from giving the year twelve months; it did not make him choose ten months. The reasons for this choice (3.123–34) are again more balanced; Romulus knows that his city is not made up of soldiers alone. His multiple explanations are framed by two etiologies again based on women's lives (124 and 134) that hearken back to the patterns we noted in Book 1's treatment of the same material. The repetition of *femina* after the caesura of each line balances the masculine focus of the intervening nine lines. Likewise, the emphasis on birth (124) and death (134), generational (124) and marital (134) bonds is by now familiar.

is balanced by a set of political 'ancestors' in the southern exedra, men whose innovations as generals and politicians provided precedents for Augustus' actions and political position.[73] The *Fasti* offers a description of the sculptural program in the entry for May 12:[74]

Ultor ad ipse suos caelo descendit honores
templaque in Augusto conspicienda foro.
. . .
hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro
et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos;
hinc videt Iliaden umeris ducis arma ferentem
claraque dispositis acta subesse viris.

[The Avenger himself descends to his honors and to the temple, the highlight of the Forum Augustum. . . . Here he sees Aeneas laden with his precious burden and the numerous ancestors of Julian nobility; there he sees the son of Ilia carrying a general's arms on his shoulders and famous deeds written under men ranged in order.]
(5.551–52, 563–66)

That the *summi viri* of the southern exedra were adopted as symbolic ancestors is implied by the inclusion of masks of many of them in Augustus' funeral procession; traditionally only the members of one's own family who had held curule office were represented by masks in the procession.[75] As we saw above, Ovid's naming of Romulus, who stood at the center of south exedra, as *Iliaden* may also point to the quasi-genealogical status of the unrelated *summi viri*: through its associations with Troy (Ilium), Romulus' matronymic makes a familial connection with Aeneas in the opposite exedra, and from the first king the alternate, political genealogy descends to Augustus. The two sets of statues served a single ideological aim: they displayed a construction of the past that legitimated Augustus' power

[73] Cf. J. C. Anderson, Jr., *Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora* (Brussels: Latomus, 1984), 83–85. It is likely that some of these *summi viri* stood in the northern colonnade as well; the Julians of note, even supplemented by the Alban Kings, were not numerous enough to fill the statue niches along the entire left side of the Forum (Zanker, *Power of Images*, 194, fig. 149).

[74] Contrary to T. Mommsen's previously accepted argument that the dedication date of the temple of Mars Ultor along with the *ludi Martiales* were celebrated on August 1, 2 B.C.E. (*CIL* I^2, 318), C. Simpson has convincingly argued that this is the correct date: "The Date of Dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor," *JRS* 67 (1977): 91–94.

[75] Dio 56.34 offers a description of Augustus' funeral. See also H. T. Rowell, "The Forum and funeral *imagines* of Augustus," *MAAR* 17 (1940): 131–43; Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 245–46; Luce, "Livy, Augustus," 127–28.

and status in the present and his dynastic successors' position in the future. As H. Flower has pointed out, the Roman display of ancestor masks both in the atrium and in the funeral procession was a political act, reinforcing a shared view of the past and justifying the social hierarchy.[76] The lavishness of Augustus' funeral display and its immortalization (before the fact) in the decorative program of the Forum is occasioned by the novelty of his position. By representing his power as the result of a continuous development from the Roman past, and by using a traditional medium of representing legitimate political power, Augustus assimilates himself to more accepted traditions of power.[77] Like Romulus' display of his paternity in the first month of the calendar so that he would be believed Mars' son (3.73; cf. also 4.57–60), Augustus' display of his familial and political genealogy is directed towards the legitimation of his power, and at the same time betrays the singularity and uncertainty of his position.

The negotiation of the relationship between past and present was of particular concern to the rapidly changing world of Augustan Rome. Among other strategies of historical reconstruction, Augustus used the discourses of antiquarianism and genealogy to represent his own power as simultaneously a rescue of the past from oblivion, a continuous development of history, and a historical culmination, a timeless Golden Age. Ovid's calendar-poem, concerned with *tempora* and *causae* above all else, uses these same discourses in ways that bring to the fore their inherent tensions and problematize an authoritative reconstruction of the past based on them. The poem represents the reconstruction of the past as related to political power, but also illustrates the possibility of alternative reconstructions.

Exempla imitanda posteris: *providing for the future*

It was not just the past that needed 'constructing' in Augustan Rome, however. As we saw above, the concerns of Augustus and likely the concerns of Rome shifted somewhat in the final years of Augustus' life to the question of Rome's future: was there to be a dynastic succession to Augustus' position and power? Would such a succession guarantee stability? As with the negotiation of Augustus' present polit-

[76] Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, *passim*, esp. 270–80.
[77] Cf. Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 141–42, 152.

ical position, the ideological success of his efforts to set up a dynastic extension of his power into the future depended on figuring dynasty as a structure continuous with already integrated and accepted traditions of power. In this section, I examine two means by which this continuity was built and promoted in Augustan propaganda and the ways these same strategies appear in the *Fasti*'s picture of the relationship between power, society, and the calendar. First, I briefly treat the forward-looking aspect of genealogy and its justification of dynastic succession; then I discuss Augustus' new emphasis on the youth of Rome and the correlation between dynastic succession and the more general succession of the younger generation to the position of its fathers.

To discuss genealogy's use as a tool for the integration of dynasty into Republican *mores*, we return again to Augustus' Forum. This ideological masterpiece not only displayed the *princeps*' construction of Rome's past as culminating in himself, it also was a stage for the extension of Augustus' power into the future in a variety of ways.[78] Upon the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor and the opening of the Forum in 2 B.C.E., Augustus issued an edict explaining the meaning and purpose of the *imagines* and the inscriptions that accompanied them: he constructed the gallery *ut ad illorum vitam velut ad exemplar et ipse, dum viveret, et insequentium aetatium principes exigerentur a civibus* [So that both he himself, while was alive, and the *principes* of coming generations might be held to the standard of these men's lives by the citizens] (Suet. *Aug.* 31). While this edict on the one hand makes clear that the images of the past are meant to offer exemplars and comparanda for Augustus himself, it also makes an assumption of dynastic succession. Although the position of *princeps senatus* had a long Republican history, the use of the term and its abbreviation as *princeps* was by this point so closely linked to Augustus' unique political position that the mention of future *principes* must assume successors to that position. The Forum, with its inordinate emphasis on the *gens Iulia*, calls for future *principes* who can be measured not only against the succession of unrelated *summi viri*, but also against the expectations raised by the *imagines* of their family—that is, it assumes that the *insequentium aetatium principes* will belong to

[78] Cf. B. Severy, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 165–80.

Augustus' family. The dynastic succession is thus inscribed as a natural development from Republican traditions of historical and mythical *exempla* and genealogical constructions of familial expectations.

While, as we saw above, *Fasti* 5.551–58 expressly treats the Forum Augustum, another passage of the *Fasti* has been seen to derive from the *imagines* and *elogia* there: at 1.589–616 Ovid compares Octavian's *cognomen* Augustus, received in 27 B.C.E., to the *cognomina* of prominent Republicans, the list of whom overlaps in large part with the known *summi viri* of the Forum.[79] The passage, however, also emphasizes the expectation that Augustus' descendants will inherit both the name and the political role of their forefather: *auspicibusque deis tanti cognominis heres/omine suscipiat, quo pater, orbis onus* [Under the gods' auspices, may the heir of so great a name take up, by the same omen as his father, the burden of the world] (1.615–16). Though the current heir in question is certainly Tiberius, the fact that the passage begins with an address to Germanicus (*redditaque est omnis populo provincia nostro/et tuus Augusto nomine dictus avus* [Every province was returned to our people and your grandfather was called by the name Augustus] [1.589–90]) opens up the above lines to broader interpretations. They could potentially refer to any number of future *Augusti*: Tiberius, Germanicus, Drusus, and those who will come later, each of whom will carry on the family inheritance of power.[80] That

[79] Anderson, *Historical Topography*, 85–86. Of the eleven men referred to in *Fasti* 1.593–605, five are among the *summi viri* who definitely had statues in the Forum (see A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* vol. 13, fasc. 3, Elogia [Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1937] 8): P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus (596); Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus (595); Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus, the brother of Tiberius (597); M. Valerius Corvus (602); and Q. Fabius Maximus (605). Anderson errs in including M'. Valerius Maximus in this list. *Fasti* 1.595 refers to M'. Valerius Maximus Messalla, the consul of 263 (Bömer, *Fast.* ad loc.); the fragments of the *elogium* in Degrassi refer to M'. Valerius Volusi f. Maximus, dictator of 494. Degrassi's list of *elogia* represents only a small fraction of the total statues, and many, if not all, of the others on Ovid's list were likely included as well. Degrassi conjectures that his fragment 22 refers to Scipio Africanus the elder, which would add another overlapping name (*Fast.* 1.593); in addition, Pompey, mentioned in *Fasti* 1.603, whose *imago* was carried in Augustus' funeral procession (Dio 56.34.3) was in all likelihood also represented in the Forum.

[80] Herbert-Brown reads Tiberius as the referent of *pater* in 616, and thus reads the potential heir as Germanicus (*Ovid and the* Fasti, 197–200). The passage as a whole, however, focuses on Augustus and reads most easily as continuing this focus, nor are Herbert-Brown's arguments from poetic symmetry or from revision in exile convincing; cf. her mistake in reading 'Caesar' in line 599 as Julius, again on questionable aesthetic grounds (122 and n. 25). Nonetheless, as Herbert-Brown observes, at many places in the *Fasti*, one 'Caesar' or 'Augustus' adumbrates another. With

this emphasis on dynasticism comes in the context of a passage that borrows Republican exempla from the Forum Augustum is not surprising—this too was part of the Forum's message. Its presence in the *Fasti*, however, is part of a more widespread focus on the quite new concept of the *domus Augusta*, the family, constituted by close connection to Augustus, to which power rightly belonged and from which future rulers would come.[81]

The *Fasti*'s emphasis on the *domus Augusta* appears primarily in Book 1, and for the most part belongs to the post-exilic revisions.[82] The *Fasti* preserves some of the earliest uses of the concept[83] which, as E. Fantham has noted, allows a tactful combination of Julians and Claudians into one family, and avoids calling attention to the tensions within the *domus*.[84] The *Fasti*'s quite early engagement with this crucial ideological concept, an engagement unparalleled in literature until later in the Tiberian years, points to the close relationship of the concept to the *Fasti*'s temporal and calendrical focus. The promotion of the *domus* is clearly tied up with the concern for future stability, a continuity of *tempora*. The poet prescribes a prayer at 1.721–22: *utque domus, quae praestat eam, cum pace perennet/ad pia propensos vota rogate deos* [And so that this peace and the house that provides it may endure forever, summon the propitious gods to pious prayers]; likewise at 4.859–60, he proclaims a future for Rome, strong under the Caesars: *cuncta regas et sis magno sub Caesare semper,/saepe etiam plures nominis huius habe* [May you rule all and always be under great Caesar, and often have more of the same name]. The promise of succession within the family is a promise of continuity and stability. Ovid's language is strikingly similar to the official language which begins to show up early in Tiberius' reign. The recently published *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*[85] of 20 C.E. gives

Germanicus as addressee, his eventual inheritance is surely in the background. Cf. also Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 200, n. 23.

[81] See Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, esp. 187–251.

[82] A more detailed examination of the theme in Book 1 and its connection to Julio-Claudian holidays is offered in Chapter 4 under "*Domus Augusta, Pax Augusta*: January 11–30."

[83] Bömer, ad *Fast.* 1.701; F. Millar, "Ovid and the *Domus Augusta*: Rome seen from Tomoi," *JRS* 83 (1993): 1–17. In addition to the passages listed by Bömer, the concept, if not the precise phrase appears at *Fast.* 1.531–32, 721–22, and 4.859.

[84] Fantham, "Ovid, Germanicus," 260.

[85] "The *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone* patre," ed. D. S. Potter, trans. C. Damon, *AJP* 120 (1999): 13–42; *Das senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*, eds. W. Eck,

thanks to the *domus* for its restraint both in mourning Germanicus' death and during the prosecution of Piso; it names in particular Tiberius, Livia, Drusus, Agrippina, Antonia, Germanicus' sister Livia, his sons, especially the eldest, Nero, and his brother, Claudius (123–51). The wording of the senate's praise of the army in particular echoes Ovid's: . . . *quam fidem pietatemq(ue) domui Aug(ustae) p[raesta]rent, eam sperare perpetuo praestaturos, cum scirent salutem imperi nostri in eius dom[u]<s> custodia posita<m> esse{t}* [{And the senate} hoped that they would forever show the same loyalty and devotion to the Augustan house as they had shown, since they knew that the welfare of our empire was placed in the guardianship of this house] (161–63).

The *Fasti* also acknowledges the calendar as one means of defining the family and signaling potential successors. The dedication of the poem to Germanicus marks the calendar's use in the construction of the *domus Augusta*:

invenies illic et festa domestica vobis;
saepe tibi pater est, saepe legendus avus,
quaeque ferunt illi, pictos signantia fastos,
tu quoque cum Druso praemia fratre feres.

[You will also find there festivals of your house; often you will read about your father, often about your grandfather, and the prizes they have, marked in the painted calendars, you too will win, along with your brother Drusus.]

(1.9–12)

Festivals commemorating Augustus and Tiberius are festivals 'of the house,' and the promise that Drusus and Germanicus will have their own festivals is both a mark of inclusion in the house, and a promise of dynastic succession. The addition of dynastic *dies natales* and anniversaries to existing calendars in the years after Augustus' death[86] point to the use of the *festa domestica* to reinforce the ruling house and ensure its continuity in this transitional period.

A. Caballos, F. Fernández (Munich: Beck, 1996). See also the *Lex Valeria Aurelia* and an accompanying decree of 19 C.E., which prescribe the dedication of a statue group of the *domus* upon the death of Germanicus: M. H. Crawford, *Roman Statutes* I (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Studies, 1996); see also discussions in J. Gonzalez and J. Arce, eds., *Estudios sobre la Tabula Siarensis* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1988) and *AJP* 120 (1999).

[86] Cf. *Fast. Praen.* ad April 4: Tiberius takes the *toga virilis*; *Fast. Vall.* ad Aug. 1: birth of Ti. Claudius Germanicus; ad Aug. 31: birth of C. Caesar Germanicus. The calendars are conveniently gathered with commentary in the edition of A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* vol. 13 fasc. 2 (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1963).

The idea that Augustus' family was defined not simply by the Julian *gens* but also by connection to the *princeps* himself is also already clear in the Forum Augustum, where Augustus' nephew Marcellus and his stepson Nero Drusus are included in the northern 'Julian' exedra. Despite the tenuousness or even total lack of blood-ties between members of the *domus Augusta*, the rhetoric that surrounds the house in the *Fasti* nonetheless follows the genealogical tradition by emphasizing the likeness of the family members to one another.[87] Fantham has noted how the coincidence of the names of Augustus, Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus, all of whom, after the adoption of 4 C.E., were *Iulii Caesares*, facilitates the assimilation of one to the next.[88] We might also add the dictator to this list, whose memory surfaces from time to time in the *Fasti* through these nominal echoes which point to the similarity between his deeds and his son's.[89] Even Livia, whose Claudian family offered a more illustrious tradition than the Julian one, was assimilated to the behavior of her husband,[90] and indeed was adopted into his family and given his name (*Iulia Augusta*) through his will.

Perhaps the most striking use of the motif of the *domus Augusta* in the *Fasti* comes in the context of a 'prophecy' of the dominance of the house, made by the nymph Carmentis:

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[87] Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.; Dio 56.46.1. Cf. also *s. c. de Cn. Pisone patre*, ll. 132–33, 140–42, 148–50.

[88] Fantham, "Ovid, Germanicus," 260. R. Syme's study of the nomenclature of Augustus demonstrates that Augustus follows a late-Republican practice by effectively converting his father's cognomen, *Caesar*, into a new *gentilicium* ("Imperator Caesar: A Study in Nomenclature," *Historia* 7 [1958]: 172–88 = 361–77 in *Roman Papers*, vol. I, ed. E. Badian [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979]). Cf. *Tr.* 4.2.7–10: *donaque amicorum templis promissa deorum/reddere victores Caesar uterque parent,/et qui Caesareo iuvenes sub nomine crescunt,/perpetuo terras ut domus illa regat*; and *Fast.* 4.19–22, 859–60. The association of Tiberius' assumption of Augustus' name with stability for the future is explicit in *Met.* 15.834–37. Cf., on *Aen.* 1.286–88: Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 251–52; R. F. Dobbin, "Julius Caesar in Jupiter's Prophecy, *Aeneid*, Book 1," *ClAnt* 14 (1995): 5–41.

[89] E.g. 1.529–30; see below on the blending of Caesar and Augustus' calendrical reforms and Ch. 5, *passim*, on Augustus' relation to the memory of Caesar.

[90] *Fast.* 1.648–50, 5.157– 58, 6.637–38. It is perhaps of significance that the first and last of these examples occur in the context of passages commemorating the dedication of a temple or altar to Concordia who, as we saw above, was a means of displaying and promoting an elusive ideal of familial harmony within the imperial house. Concordia is invoked in the *s. c. de Cn. Pisone Patre* (ll. 137–39) as the force binding Agrippina to Germanicus, and Agrippina is commended for that as well as for her connection to Augustus and the children she has borne.

iam pius Aeneas sacra et, sacra altera, patrem
adferet: Iliacos accipe, Vesta, deos.
tempus erit cum vos orbemque tuebitur idem,
et fient ipso sacra colente deo,
et penes Augustos patriae tutela manebit:
hanc fas imperii frena tenere domum.
inde nepos natusque dei, licet ipse recuset,
pondera caelesti mente paterna feret . . .

[Now pious Aeneas brings the holy objects, and that other holy object, his father: receive the Ilian gods, Vesta. There will be a time when the same man will look after you and the world: your rites will take place under the direction of a god, and the care of the fatherland will remain in the power of the Augusti; it is right that this house hold the reins of the empire. Then the grandson and son of a god, although he himself will refuse it, will bear his father's burden with a divine mind . . .]

(1.527–34)

Here, the passage playfully shifts between an emphasis on Augustus' physical house on the Palatine, where a shrine of Vesta was dedicated in 12 B.C.E. as part of the *princeps*' entrance into the priesthood of the *pontifex maximus*, and the more abstract concept of the *domus Augusta*. While the final lines of the passage are clearly post-Augustan, there is disagreement as to where the revised lines begin, a testament to the smoothness of the transition between one meaning of *domus* and the other: Bömer places the beginning of the newer lines at 533; Le Bonniec argues that the plural *Augustos* implies Tiberius' succession, and makes the break after 530.[91] Fantham supports the latter reading, arguing that 529–30 provide a natural climax to the passage, and could refer either to Caesar or Augustus as *pontifices maximi*.[92] The reference to Augustus as *deus* before his death would seem to go a bit beyond the quasi-divine honors the *Fasti* grants to the living emperor, however, and figuring Julius Caesar as the guardian of Vesta-on-the-Palatine is decidedly anachronistic.[93] This passage has in fact been too thoroughly and skillfully revised to make a clean break at any given line. Indeed, the balance between Aeneas and Tiberius' 'paternal burdens' is important to the rhetoric of the passage and dissuades the reader from focusing too strongly on a break

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[91] Bömer, ad loc.; H. Le Bonniec, ed. and comm., *Ovide, Fastorum Liber Primus*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), ad loc.
[92] Fantham, "Ovid, Germanicus," 261.
[93] Cf. K. Scott, "Emperor Worship in Ovid," *TAPA* 61 (1930): 43–69.

in the passage due to the revision. On the one hand, the similarity between Aeneas and Tiberius points to the Julian genealogy; though the genealogical connection is not explicit here, the *Fasti*'s other treatment of the Palatine shrine of Vesta, very similar to this one, reveals the connection of that cult to Augustus' genealogy by treating the *princeps* and Vesta as *cognata numina* because of their shared Trojan origin (3.417–28). Zanker has argued that the strong family traditions of the Claudii made Tiberius impossible to write into the Julian mythology;[94] here, however, he is clearly assimilated to Aeneas, the founder of the *gens Iulia*. On the other hand, the contrast between the two is also ideologically significant: Aeneas' very personal and physical shouldering of his father has been transformed so that Tiberius' *pondera paterna* is not his father, but the rule of the fatherland. The *domus Augusta*, and the genealogical discourse that supports it, are inherently tied up with the transferal of power from one generation of *Augusti* to the next.

Another discourse on the future that supported the beginning of the Julio-Claudian dynasty emphasized generational continuity in the community at large, and figured dynastic succession as a small-scale instance of this continuity, though it would, of course, have large-scale effects. One prominent element of this new ideological emphasis is Augustus' increase in the number of occasions on which the boys of senatorial families performed the *lusus Troiae*, an equestrian display that introduced the youngest generation of the elite to the public. Suetonius describes his motives in doing so: *prisci decorique moris existimans clarae stirpis indolem sic notescere* [judging it an ancient and honorable custom that the natural talent of the offspring of illustrious families become known in this way] (Suet. *Aug*. 43.2). The display of the elite youth *en masse* in a ceremony purported to be of great antiquity both grounded the power of the elite in the past and provided assurance of the next generation's readiness to assume that power.[95] Augustus' own grandsons and adoptive sons, Gaius and

[94] Zanker, *Power of Images*, 227.

[95] Cf. D. H. 7.72.1 (depending on Fabius), describing the earlier *pompa circensis*, which was lead by all the citizen boys and young men ἵνα φανερὰ γίνοιτο τοῖς ξένοις ἡ μέλλουσα ἀνδροῦσθαι τῆς πόλεως ἀκμὴ πλῆθός τε καὶ κάλλος οἵα τις ἦν [So that it would be clear to foreigners how plentiful and fine was the flower of the city about to come to manhood]. Though the display was clearly military, Dionysius' assumption that it was for the edification (and intimidation) of the foreigners in the audience may be largely due to the author's position. A display to

Lucius, took prominent roles in the games, leading and ceremonially directing them, and indeed are depicted on the *Ara Pacis* in the costume of the 'Trojan' riders.[96] Their participation dramatically assimilated their potential succession to their father's position to the generational continuity displayed and assured by the Troy games.

The *Fasti* also treats the theme of generational continuity, figuring it as inscribed in the calendar's social 'blueprint.' As we saw above, Romulus, in Book 1 of the *Fasti*, names the months of May and June after the elder and younger generations of his new city, producing or reproducing a social structure. The proems of Books 5 and 6 repeat these etymologies of *Maius* and *Iunius*, making more explicit the different social functions of the *maiores* and *iuniores*, and emphasizing the succession of one generation to the next. Although in each case, the explanation is only one of three alternatives given by three different goddesses, so that its authority within the text is in question, the articulation of the explanation is still of importance as a possible, even plausible, mode of theorizing the significance of these generational groups and the relationship between the Roman calendar and society.

Urania delivers the first of these two etymological discourses as one of three competing explanations for the name of the *mensis Maius*, each delivered by a Muse with the backing of two of her sisters. She describes the great respect for old age in early Rome, and a division between the duties of the generations of men:

> *Martis opus iuvenes animosaque bella gerebant,*
> *et pro dis aderant in statione suis;*
> *viribus illa minor nec habendis utilis armis*
> *consilio patriae saepe ferebat opem;*

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the state of its own strength is a highly effective form of integrational propaganda, designed to maintain the status quo. The audience of the *ludi magni*, the occasion for the *pompa*, was surely primarily Roman.

[96] Anderson, *Historical Topography*, 69; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 217–18, fig. 169–70. Cf. also Taylor, "*Seviri equitum*," 160–61. The idea that these games were Trojan in origin seems to have been solidified by Caesar and Augustus, with the help of Vergil's depiction of the games in *Aeneid* 5.545–603, and offers a nice corollary to the elevation of the *familiis Troianis*. Though most are in agreement in identifying the children in eastern dress on the altar as Gaius and Lucius, there are dissenting voices: C. B. Rose, "'Princes' and Barbarians on the Ara Pacis," *AJA* 94 (1990): 453–67; A. L. Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: The Case of the Boscoreale Cups* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 100–107.

nec nisi post annos patuit tunc curia seros,
nomen et aetatis mite senatus habet.

[The young carried out Mars' work and bold wars, and stuck to their posts in defense of their gods; that other age, weaker and less handy with weapons, often brought aid to the fatherland by their advice; nor did the senate-house lie open in those days until a man's later years, and the senate has the mild name of this age.]

(5.59–64)

Young men go to war, old men advise and give laws so that the senate is named for them—the division is already familiar; here, however, Romulus lacks an active role as organizer of both society and the calendar. Rather than making a division of society and then naming the months to mimic that division, he sees that this division is already in place and endorses it by entrusting the general interests of his city to the elders: *Romulus hoc vidit selectaque pectora patres/dixit: ad hos urbis summa relata novae* [Romulus saw this and named chosen souls 'fathers': to these the most important affairs of the new city were entrusted] (5.71–72). Urania believes that the *maiores*, as law-makers, gave their own name to the month: *hinc sua maiores tribuisse vocabula Maio/tangor, et aetati consuluisse suae* [For this reason I'm convinced that the elders gave their own name to May and took consideration for their own generation] (5.73–74). This shift in emphasis from Romulus to the senators as the namers of the months comes almost automatically as a result of Urania's emphasis on their position of high honor—control of the calendar is inseparable from control of society.[97]

Urania offers the fact that the name of the next month is derived from *iuvenes* as proof of her point. The order of the two months replays the structure of society—not only does June come after May, just as the *iuvenes* are second in status to the *senes*, the idea of generational succession seems to be inscribed in Urania's articulation of the order of the months: *nec leve propositi pignus successor honoris/Iunius, a iuvenum nomine dictus, habet* [And the successor of the proposed honor (?), June, named for the younger men, holds no insignificant guarantee of the proposed honor (?)] (5.77–78). The month of June which

[97] Urania's alternative explanation, that Numitor might have asked his grandson for the honor on behalf of the *senes*, and Romulus could not refuse him (75–76), maintains the respect for old age, but loses something of the political—it replays the relationship of young and old on a familial level.

follows May both guarantees that the previous month was an honor to the older men (reading *propositi honoris* with *pignus*) and represents the inheritors of the political offices of the older generation (reading *propositi honoris* with *successor*). The word order invites both readings, as does the unusual word choice: *successor* is rarely used of simply the next thing in order, much more often of political succession or legal inheritance.[98] *Pignus* here may also carry something of the weight it has in so many passages of the *Fasti*, of the *pignora imperii*, the divinely granted guarantors of Rome's power: generational succession, the assurance that each age group will do its duty at the proper time, like the Palladium, the *ancile* and Augustus himself, ensures the stability of the social structure, and thus of Rome.[99]

Iuventas' exposition of the same etymologies in the proem of Book 6 makes the naming of the months less the result of the division of the two generational groups than a correlative of that division:

ad propriora vocor: populum digessit ab annis
Romulus, in partes distribuitque duas;
haec dare consilium, pugnare paratior illa est,
haec aetas bellum suadet, at illa gerit.
sic statuit, mensesque nota secrevit eadem:
Iunius est iuvenum; qui fuit ante, senum.

[I am called to things closer to hand: Romulus ordered the people by years, and divided them into two parts; this age is more ready to give advice, that one to fight, this age persuades to war, that one wages it. Thus he decreed, and he distinguished the months by the same sign: June belongs to the young; what came before, to the old.]
(6.83–88)

Here, Romulus is fully in charge—he causes the division of the people and of the months. The two are nearly part of the same action, as if the naming of the months were a tool by which Romulus established the division of the people.[100] The months and the *populus* were divided *nota eadem*—a phrase whose meaning is less than clear. Does

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[98] *OLD*, *s. v.* "successor," (a) and (b).

[99] Cf. *s. c. de Cn. Pisone patre*, l. 139, which names Germanicus and Agrippina's children as *pignora*. On youth as a guarantor of social stability in a discussion of the cults of Iuventas and Terminus, G. Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 202.

[100] Cf. Macr. 1.12.16: *nam Fulvius Nobilior in fastis quos in aede Herculis Musarum posuit, Romulum dicit postquam populum in maiores iunioresque divisit, ut altera pars consilio altera armis rem publicam tueretur, in honorem utriusque partis hunc Maium, sequentem Iunium mensem vocasse.*

this simply refer to the names of the months and the groups, or has Romulus given to the months purposes or characters analogous to those of *senes* and *iuvenes*? In either case, it is once again clear that the months of the year and the social structure are closely tied up with one another, and that the calendar is used to display and guarantee stability through generational continuity. The language of Romulus' social organization in lines 83–84 quite appropriately echoes the language we heard in Book 1 of the establishment of the calendar: *tempora digereret cum conditor Urbis, in anno/constituit mense quinque bis esse suo* [When the founder of the city was arranging the divisions of time he decided there would ten months in his year] (1.27–28). The reuse of the verb *digerere*, which is of course also used in the first line of the poem (*tempora . . . digesta*), the close of the line in a form of *annum* (also in the first line of the poem: *per annum*), and the basic structure (Romulus distributed X and divided it into Y parts) clearly express the affinity and correlative relationship between the organization of a society and the organization of a calendar.

While, as the *lusus Troiae* demonstrates, Augustus made a point of displaying the young elite, including and especially the children of his own family, from a very early age, he also emphasized the young adults of senatorial families using language and rhetoric strikingly similar to that of the *Fasti*'s etymologies of May and June. When Augustus' grandson Gaius, upon assuming the *toga virilis* in 5 B.C.E., was voted the title *princeps iuventutis* by the equestrian order,[101] that order had assumed a new significance as the ceremonial *iuventus* of Rome. It was the younger knights, a category which included men of senatorial families who had not yet been elected to a senatorial magistracy, who served as officers of the army, filling admirably the *Fasti*'s picture of the *iuniores*. The young knights had their own section of the theater, the *cuneus iuniorum*. The senatorial youth, distinguished from the other knights by the *latus clavus* on their togas, were given further prominence by their participation in the equestrian games and exercises which proliferated under Augustus.[102] This active promotion of the visibility of the young *equites*, and particularly of those who would eventually succeed their fathers in the senate again guarantees a stable future through generational continuity in the power structures. C. Nicolet and A. Chastagnol have pointed to the

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101 *R.G.* 14.

102 Taylor, "*Seviri equitum*," 159–60.

creation and promotion of this class of young knights as part of an Augustan development which made membership in the *ordo senatorius* hereditary.[103] The naming of Gaius as *princeps iuventutis* by this highly visible group of young men promised an eventual succession of the young man to Augustus' position as *princeps senatus*,[104] and indeed the title later became a regular part of the designation of imperial heirs. In this first instance, however, the promise of succession is made in the context of a more general succession of one generation of elites to its fathers' status. In a letter to Gaius of 1 B.C.E., Augustus connects his grandsons' (both Gaius' and Lucius') entrance into manhood and succession to his position with the prosperity of Rome herself: *Deos autem oro ut mihi quantumque superest temporis, id salvis nobis traducere liceat in statu rei publicae felicissimo*, ἀνδραγαθούντων ὑμῶν καὶ διαδεχομένων *stationem meam* [Moreover, I pray to the gods that, whatever time is left to me, it be allowed to pass with us safe, with the republic in this very prosperous condition, and with you acting like men and succeeding to my position] (Gell. 15.7.3).

We have seen that the *Fasti* represents the months of May and June as an inscription in the calendar of the ideology of generational continuity, and that it connects the naming of the months to political power, whether that of Romulus or of the senate. This paradigm for the function and significance of the calendar provides us with some hints at a calendrical analog to Gaius' election as *princeps iuventutis* in the renaming of the *menses Quintilis* and *Sextilis* as *Iulius* and *Augustus*. This literal inscription of the first Julio-Claudian *principes* in an institution that, at least in the *Fasti*'s schema, acts as a blueprint for and description of Roman social structure makes of them not just re-founders of the city, but an integral part of Rome's 'foundation': the calendar's/city's structure incorporates time, life cycles, family structures, generational continuity, and, suddenly, Julius and Augustus as well. The step is a significant one: neither Romulus nor Numa had taken this honor (that is, neither had been given it by the calendrical tradition), despite what seems an open invitation in

[103] Nicolet, "Augustus, Government," 93; A. Chastagnol, "La naissance de l'*ordo senatorius*," *MEFRA* 85 (1973): 581–607, esp. 583, and "'Latus clavus' et 'adlectio': l'accès des hommes nouveaux au Sénat romain sous le Haut-Empire," *RD* 53 (1975): 375–94.

[104] Cf. Ovid, *A. A.* 1.194: *nunc iuvenum princeps, deinde future senum*; see also H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Weidemann, 1962), vol. 1, 140, ll. 13 ff.

the 'numbered months' after June; only gods had months named for them.[105] Nonetheless, these new months, despite their seeming intrusion into the ancient calendrical structure, are 'successful,' neither short-lived (obviously) nor excessively disruptive.[106] As has long been noted, the success of nearly all of Augustus' constitutional and social reforms depended on at least an appearance of continuity, or of restoration to continuity after an anomalous period of disruption.[107] In the calendar too, continuity and stability are critical; indeed, as we have seen above, Ovid sees these qualities inscribed in the structure of the year, and therefore in the prescribed structure of the city. The Julio-Claudian reforms of the calendar maintain that stability by 'restoring' the wandering stars to their proper courses, but they also threaten to change the ordering structure provided by the calendar by changing the names of the months. Though the *Fasti*, of course, does not treat the seventh and eighth months, the poem sets up expectations for social significance in month-names. July and August quite clearly mimic the preceding months in their paired nature, so that the *Fasti*'s paradigm asks us to think about their meaning for Roman society. Why was this anomalous honor, the naming of months after men,[108] accepted into the ancient structure of the calendar?

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[105] S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 153–58 traces the innovation to similar honors paid to Hellenistic kings.

[106] Sources indicate a lapse in the use of the month-name *Iulius* between Caesar's death and the dedication of the temple of Venus Genetrix in the same year (July 20–30) due to discomfort with the implication of divinity in the honor (Dio 45.7.2 Suet. *Caes.* 76.1; Flor. 2.13.91). Cicero's letters to Atticus reflect both the lapse (15.2.3) and the distaste for the name once it became official again (16.1, 16.4.1); see also the commentary of D. R. Shackleton-Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 156–57; Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 24; Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit*, 405–6. We hear elsewhere of much less successful calendrical manipulation by later emperors which was undone upon its instigator's death: Nero changed the beginning of the year to December, his birth month (Tac. *Ann.* 13.10); Domitian changed September and October to *Germanicus* and *Domitianus* (Plut. *Num.* 19; Suet. *Dom.* 13.3, Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.36–37). The Senate proposed a change of September to Tiberius and October to Livius, but Tiberius refused the honor (Suet. *Tib.* 26.2); Dio reports, alternatively, that the proposal was to rename only Tiberius' birth month, November, after the emperor (57.18.2). See also Cens. *De die nat.* 22.16.

[107] See, for example, the discussions of Meier, "Formation of the Alternative;" Eder, "Power of Tradition;" Crook, "Political History," 117–23.

[108] We must remember that both months were named while their honorees were living; the *mensis Iulius* was inaugurated in 45 or early 44, the *mensis Augustus* in 8 B.C.E. The evidence for both is collected in Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* 13.2, 321–22.

The key to the success of the new month-names may depend on the assimilation of their social meaning to that of the preceding two months, May and June. The sequence of *Maius, Iunius, Iulius, Augustus* must, on the one hand, be read as a dynastic statement: as we saw above, the position of *Iunius* after *Maius* inscribes the honors paid to the older generation, and promises a smooth succession of the *iuvenes* to those honors. By re-naming *Quintilis* and *Sextilis*, Julius and Augustus repeat the pattern of the preceding two months on the level of 'the one' rather than 'the many': Augustus has succeeded his father, just as one generation has succeeded the next since the beginning of Rome's history (and calendar).[109] The intentionality of this sequence may be noted in the fact that, though *Quintilis* was re-named *Iulius* because it was Caesar's birth-month, the senate voted to rename *Sextilis*, rather than his birth-month of September, after Augustus.[110] The Julio-Claudian dynastic succession is careful not to replace the old form; it in fact requires that the old form continue in order to be effective, so that the new may seem simply a permutation of the old. By breaking the sequence of months in half we have yet another repetition of the pattern of new smoothly succeeding old, while holding the old in honor: in the sequence of the pairs [*Maius, Iunius*] and [*Iulius, Augustus*], the new pattern of dynastic succession is inscribed as the natural successor to the old pattern of generational succession.[111]

Calendrical revisions and social control

Having approached the calendar's participation in Augustan ideologies of past and future obliquely from several angles, we can now look head-on at the *Fasti*'s treatment of the calendrical revisions. The tradition divides the revisions to the calendar that displace Mars and rewrite Romulus' representation of and/or plan for Roman soci-

[109] The fourth-century grammarian and poet Ausonius saw this significance in the ordered pair July and August: *Augustus sequitur cognatum a Caesare nomen/ordine sic anni proximus ut generis* (7.10.15–16; cf. also 7.9.5–8).

[110] The sources give other reasons: the beginning of Augustus' first consulate, his triple triumph, and the fall of Alexandria all fell in *Sextilis*; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 31.2; *Fast. Praen.*, preface to August; Dio 55.6.6; Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.35, quoting a *senatus consultum* of 8 B.C.E. Suetonius also reports a proposal made soon after the death of Augustus to shift the *mensis Augustus* to September after all, on the grounds that Augustus both was born and died in that month (*Aug.* 100.3).

[111] More on this topic in Ch. 5.

ety into two major phases, a 'Numan' one in the next generation, and then a Julio-Claudian one. Numa's revisions are supposed to have added two months, bringing the days of the year to 355, from Romulus' 304 days. As we saw above, Caesar's revisions and Augustus' re-establishment of their order brought the year into very close convergence with the solar year, placing the number of days per year at our current 365 and providing for an intercalary day every fourth year. Ovid treats both these revisions to Romulus' original foundation of the calendar as revisions also to Romulus' original foundation of the city.[112]

Our first glimpse of Numa's revisions of the calendar is fairly innocuous to Ovid's first formulation of Romulus' calendrical plan. As we saw above, Book 1 makes the number of months of the year and the names of its months represent fundamental structures of Roman life—birth and death, the family, politics, war, and the relationship between male and female, public and private. The two lines on Numa's role in the process (1.43–44) only extend the representation beyond life and death to honor Janus as the ultimate beginning, and the ancestral shades as an end beyond death.[113] Numa's revision thus represents not so much a correction as an improvement, although, as we have seen, the change in the order of the months (*praeposuit*) reduces the calendar's emphasis on Mars.[114] Plutarch took this demotion of Mars' month from first position as part of Numa's efforts to soften the military focus of the nation: δοκεῖ δέ μοι τὸν Μάρτιον ὁ Νομᾶς ἐπώνυμον ὄντα τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐκ τῆς προεδρίας μεταστῆσαι, βουλόμενος ἐν παντὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς δυνάμεως προτιμᾶσθαι τὴν πολιτικὴν [It seems to me that Numa moved March, which is named

[112] A phase intermediate to the Numan and Julian calendars, which Michels, *Calendar*, attributes to the reforms of the *decemviri* of 451/450, is nearly entirely overlooked by the *Fasti*. The 'decemviral' year added an intercalary month of 22 or 23 days (called *Intercalaris* or *Mercedonius*) every other year, bringing the days of a four-year cycle to 1465, four to five days longer than four solar years. The quickly apparent necessity of periodic adjustments to this calendar gave rise to the pontifical right of adjustment of the calendar, which Caesar and Augustus later used in making their reforms. 2.47–54 is the *Fasti*'s only hint at knowledge of decemviral reforms to the calendar See Chapter 2 under "Calendrical order, month pairs, and meaning" for further discussion of the 'error'.

[113] King, "Spatial Form," 103–4 points to Varro's association of Janus with the beginning of the human life-cycle, conception (Aug. *C.D.* 6.9).

[114] Book 2 gives symbolic purposes to January and February consistent with 1.43–44: *primus enim Iani mensis, quia ianua prima est:/qui sacer est imis manibus, imus erat* (2.51–52).

for Ares, out of first place because in all things he wanted to honor political power before military power] (*Num.* 19.9).[115]

Ovid's second articulation of this revision is a more radical departure from Romulus' plan, however, in that it looks not to the model of society, but to the stars for its corrections to the calendar. In keeping with Ovid's characterization of Romulus as knowing *arma* better than *sidera*, here Numa's addition of January and February is not designed to include representations of the beginning of things and the final end for mortal souls, but is due to the second king's superior astronomical knowledge:

> *Primus, oliviferis Romam deductus ab arvis,*
> *Pompilius menses sensit abesse duos,*
> *sive hoc a Samio doctus, qui posse renasci*
> *nos putat, Egeria sive monente sua.*
>
> [Pompilius, led down to Rome from the olive-bearing fields, first noticed that two months were missing, whether taught this by the Samian who thinks we can be born again, or whether by the instruction of his Egeria.]
>
> (3.151–54)

Numa thus shifts calendar building into a different paradigm: the calendar is supposed to coincide with something exterior to the city and its society, with an ideal year, the solar year. Numa perceives (*sensit*; cf. the situation under Romulus: *quis tunc aut Hyadas aut Pliadas Atlanteas/senserat?* [105–6]) that the Roman year is lacking two months because its cycle fails to mimic the sun's own. We now have a calendar that not only mirrors Roman society, but also coordinates its rhythms with those of the natural world.

Once again, however, the articulation of this new paradigm, which is begun by Numa and will continue with Caesar and Augustus, calls into question the cause and effect relationship between observation of phenomena and calendar-building. Rather than adjusting the cal-

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[115] Though most of Plutarch's account of the calendar in the life of Numa is based on Varro (cf. H. Peter, *Die Quellen Plutarchs in den Biographieen der Römer* [Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1865], 168–70), δοκεῖ δέ μοι implies that this interpretation of Numa's political motives in adding or repositioning January and February is Plutarch's own invention. The phrase is used in the *Lives* almost exclusively to express Plutarch's judgment of a situation or a person (*Marc.* 21.3.4, *Comp. Arist. et Cat.* 5.3.5, *Luc.* 36.6.1, *Comp. Cim. et Luc.* 1.8.6) or to conjecture concerning the motivation of an action, as here (*Publ.* 17.7.2, *Marc.* 28.6.2, *Dem.* 12.4.1, *Arat.* 1.1.2).

endar to meet the rhythms of the natural world, Numa, and Caesar in his turn, are represented as using the calendar to *control* the natural world. Before Numa, the stars had the upper hand: *libera currebant et inobservata per annum/sidera; constabat sed tamen esse deos* [The stars used to run free and unchecked through the year; but nevertheless it was agreed that they were gods] (3.111–12). The very fact of the stars' unpredictability and mysteriousness makes them gods.[116] Numa's adjustment to the calendar is due either to Pythagorean learning (*a Samio doctus*), or to advice from Egeria (*Egeria . . . monente sua*). The second possibility, I will discuss in Chapter 2. The first is a more familiar paradigm, most famously that of Lucretius,[117] in which scientific knowledge is a means of escaping from the fear of the unknown, from *religio*. The idea is succinctly articulated by Vergil:

> *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*
> *atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum*
> *subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari.*
>
> [Happy was he who was able to know the causes of things and threw every fear and inescapable fate and the roar of greedy Acheron beneath his feet.]
>
> (*Geo.* 2.490–92)

The irony of attributing this demystification of the stars to Numa, whom Livy tells us intentionally inserts *deorum metum* into the hearts of the Romans is striking, but we have seen before that the contrast between Romulus as war-king and Numa as peace/religion/law-king is less starkly drawn in the *Fasti* than in Livy. Numa's *learning* is emphasized more strongly than his pacifism and piety, and a learned king could not fail to give the year twelve months and, thereby, to control the stars, doing away with a destabilizing 'unknown' in the life of his Romans. Indeed, even Livy's portrait of Numa emphasizes that the king's invention of religion is a means of social control (Liv. 1.19.4); in a specifically calendrical example, Livy explains that Numa designates days as *nefasti* and *fasti* for purely utilitarian reasons of control: *quia aliquando nihil cum populo agi utile futurum erat* [Because it would sometimes be useful for no business to be brought before the people] (1.19.7). In Ovid, the formulation is less cynical, but has something of the same effect. Numa's control of nature by

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[116] Cf. Lucr. 5.1183–92, 1204–10.
[117] *Passim*, but esp. 1.63–79, the encomium of Epicurus.

building a calendar that reins it in and 'observes' it is an important correlative of social control and of power, as the further calendrical revisions accomplished by Caesar make clear.[118]

Ovid discusses Caesar's perfection of the calendar in 44 B.C.E. in brief but telling lines. Even after Numa's addition of January and February, all is not well between the calendar and the stars it is meant to rule:

sed tamen errabant etiam nunc tempora, donec
Caesaris in multis haec quoque cura fuit.
non haec ille deus tantaeque propaginis auctor
credidit officiis esse minora suis,
promissumque sibi voluit praenoscere caelum
nec deus ignotas hospes inire domos.
ille moras solis, quibus in sua signa rediret,
traditur exactis disposuisse notis;

[But nevertheless, time wandered even then, until this too came to be numbered among Caesar's many cares. That god, source of such great offspring, did not think this unworthy of his attention, and he desired to know in advance the heavens promised to him, nor, as a god, did he want to enter unknown homes like a guest. The periods in which the sun returns to its signs, he is said to have laid out with precise notations.]

(3.155–62)

We see once again here the notion that the *tempora* (here, periods of time as marked by the rising and setting of particular constellations), without the control of the calendar, "wandered," or even "were wrong." Caesar's administration of the stars is part of a general 'correction' of society, one concern among many (156) and worthy of a place in his *officia* (157–58). This very literal instance of the analogy between cosmos and social order so common in Augustan thought[119] once again allows the calendar a prescriptive role: the calendar is not so much corrected to match the stars, as the stars are given an exact schedule by which to run their courses. *Dispono* characteristically carries an implication of prescriptive ordering—Caesar himself

[118] The *Fasti*'s other major Numan narrative, the story of the origin of the Salii and the *ancile* (3.259–392), has Numa binding the sylvan gods Picus and Faunus as a means of forcing them to reveal information (see Chapter 2). This more violent controlling of nature is a nice parallel to Numa's control of the stars some one hundred lines earlier.

[119] Cf. P. Hardie, *Virgil's* Aeneid: *Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

uses it of stationing soldiers.[120] Indeed, the relative clause in 161 might easily be (mis?)read as a relative clause of purpose, an articulation of Caesar's dictate to the sun.[121] If, as seems likely, the wandering of the stars is to be read here a symptom of a disordered society, the calendar, Caesar's time-schedule for the stars, is a both a tool for re-ordering society and a sign of that order.

This culmination of Rome's power over the stars also represents an apex of imperial expansion that builds over the portion of the proem to Book 3 which treats the development of the calendar (71–166). Romulus' calendar looks to Italy alone for its structure. As we saw above, the founder gives the first month of his year to Mars as a means of ensuring Rome's conquest of the surrounding tribes (*hos omnes ut vinceret ordine saltem* [98]). In addition, the ten-month calendar is a direct result of its strictly Italian focus, again figured in terms of military conquest:

nondum tradiderat victas victoribus artes
Graecia, facundum sed male forte genus:
qui bene pugnabat, Romanam noverat artem;
mittere qui poterat pila, disertus erat.

[Greece, that eloquent but weak nation, had not yet handed over her conquered arts to the conqueror. He who fought well, knew Roman art; he who could throw a spear, was well-spoken.]
(3.101–4)

The twelve-month year arrives with Numa from Sabine country (*oliviferis Romam deductus ab arvis* [151]), with the possibility of Greek learning via Pythagoras (*a Samio doctus* [153]). The final perfection of calendrical control coincides with the largest historical expansion of the empire under Caesar and Augustus.[122] The accuracy of the calendar

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[120] Caes. *Civ.* 3.92.2, *Gal.* 7.28.6.

[121] Cf. Plut. *Caes.* 59.6, a report of Cicero's response when someone mentioned after Caesar's calendar reforms that the constellation Lyra would rise the next day: "Ναί," εἶπεν, "ἐκ διατάγματος," ὡς καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀνάγκην τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεξομένων. ["Yes," he said, "by decree," as if men controlled even this by power.] On this passage, see King, "Spatial Form," 27. A. W. J. Holleman, however, has argued that Cicero's comment actually refers to an astrological mistake of Caesar's astronomers, the point being that Lyra will not rise, except according to Caesar: "Cicero's reaction to the Julian calendar," *Historia* 27 (1978): 496–98.

[122] Cf. Feeney, "*Si licet et fas est*," 1–25: "The full synchronization of Roman time and natural time only comes, as we have seen, with Julius Caesar's reforms, whereby Roman time and natural time merge (as Roman space and natural space merge); but Ovid concentrates on the way in which Caesar's reforms are the culmination

works then not only as a tool for building domestic order and a gauge of that order, but also as a sign of the expansion of Rome's power to include all that the stars survey,[123] and, indeed, the stars themselves.

But Caesar's reformation of the calendar does not just correct the errant stars and expand the empire to the heavens; it is also a means by which Caesar places himself in the stars, a means of deifying himself and, once again, a sign of that deification. Just as the astronomical failure of Romulus' early calendar was due to ignorance of the stars (*scilicet arma magis quam sidera, Romule, noras* [1.29]), the success of the Julian calendar points to Caesar's intimate association with the stars. By 'getting to know' the stars, Caesar learns how to control them and also guarantees his acceptance as one of them after his death.[124]

We have thus far tacitly assumed that 'Caesar' in this passage refers to Julius, but as often in the *Fasti*, and in the literature of the empire in general, the identification is less than secure, and probably deliberately so. *Ille deus tantaeque propaginis auctor* could refer as easily to Augustus as to Julius Caesar (and to neither terribly well, considering their bad luck with offspring), as could the general theme of Caesar as calendar reformer since Augustus put into practice Julius' reforms. Here, the calendar is represented as one among many *curae* of Caesar (156); *cura* as an important characteristic of 'Caesar' is likewise used at *Fasti* 2.59 ff., in a context clearly concerned with Augustus as *templorum repostor*. Bömer, in using these lines for dating, assumes that they refer to Augustus' calendrical corrections of 8 B.C.E.; the mistake of lines 165–66, where Ovid says a day is to be added *in lustrum*, i.e. every five years, tells Bömer that these lines were written before regular leap years began occurring again.[125] This reading hangs in part, although not explicitly so, on taking *traditur* (162) as describing exactly this uncertainty as to the content of the reforms:

of Roman methods of organising time which go all the way back to the founder, Romulus" (10).

[123] Cf. *Fast.* 2.136–38.

[124] For the *sidus Iulium*, the comet that marked Caesar's apotheosis, see Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 370–84. Ovid *Met.* 15.840–51 describes Caesar's ascent to heaven and transformation into the star. For references to the imperial family as 'stars' during their lifetimes, see Verg. *Geo.* 1.32 (of Augustus), Ov. *Tr.* 2.167 (of Germanicus and Drusus).

[125] Bömer, *Fasti* vol. II, 16.

"They say/Rumor has it that Caesar (Augustus) has added a day to the year every five years." It is equally plausible that *traditur* here conveys, as it does so often, a sense of historicity, of tradition's authority: "It has come down to us that (Julius) Caesar added a day to the year every five years." After a generation in which Caesar's reforms were incorrectly followed, the folkloric quality of the verb, its tendency to refer to the dim past, is appropriate; even the mistake of *in lustrum* might be a means of distancing the fairly recent past.[126] Ovid is using language which in its primary sense refers to Julius to point to/predict the deification of Augustus. The two readings are simultaneous and nearly inevitable, and mimic the duplication of Julius' reforms by Augustus.

We have seen that the *Fasti* frequently engages with Augustan ideologies of time, deploying similar discourses and using related strategies to build its own reconstructions of the past and projections for the future, and in so doing lays bare the process of reconstructing the past as a means of giving meaning to the present and future. In addition, the poem frequently foregrounds the use of the calendar as a tool of social control and a platform for ideological statements, associating the creation and revisions of the calendar with political power. Through both these means, a pattern is discernible in which the conflicts and contradictions that work against authoritative, univocal constructions of the past and its relationship to the present are teased out and held up for public viewing: other reconstructions, other meanings, are always possible.

Nonetheless, the poem does not directly work against the Augustan applications of the discourses we have examined (antiquarianism, genealogy, dynasticism, promotion of generational continuity); indeed,

[126] An intriguing instance of this distancing is discussed by Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 230–31. At the end of Book 6, the poet calls on the Muses to explain who founded the temple of Hercules Musarum (6.799–800), a temple which dates only to the early second century. The answer Clio gives him refers to an even more recent (29 B.C.E.) restoration by L. Marcius Phillipus. Newlands draws a parallel to a similar invocation of the Muses near the end of the *Metamorphoses* (15.622–25), in which Ovid dramatically emphasizes the antiquity of the story of the importation of one of Rome's newer gods, Aesculapius. N. Horsfall ("Mythological invention and poetica licentia," in *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft: das Paradigma Roms*, ed. F. Graf [Leipzig: Teubner, 1993), 131–41) has compiled a list (139) of instances in the *Fasti* where claims of "tradition" are made for stories that are likely Ovid's own invention; some of the less controversial examples are: 2.304 (using *traditur*), 3.543, 4.681 ff., 5.625, 6.103–4.

it often coincides with or complements them. Nor would I argue that the poem simply deconstructs the discourses themselves. These modes of thinking about and giving meaning to the relation between past, present and future are represented as having the potential to shape social conceptions, and as being basic to the calendar's, and therefore to Roman society's, constitution. The poem's insistence on the political nature of these discourses on time is, of course, also an insistence on the importance of its own topic, its singular, but not single-voiced, exposition of *tempora*. We will see in the next chapter how Ovid figures the relationship between poetry and the quintessentially political acts of city-founding and its correlate, calendar-building. Ovid demonstrates that it is precisely the conflict in these discourses, their continual potential for renegotiating constructions of time, that gives them explanatory power and makes them useful tools of ideology. The multiplicity of Augustan discourses on time, despite the tensions it engenders, demonstrates the same point: meaningful ideology is not built through a single 'program,' dictated by authority, but by building meaning on as many levels as possible, from as many sides as possible, with as many active participants as possible. We might remember here Janus' cosmology, in which conflict was the basis of the cosmos (1.107–10). Just as conflict there was necessary for the cosmos to stand, a fixed, eternal, authoritative meaning of the past erodes the power of these basic Roman discourses on time, the calendar among them, to negotiate and renegotiate order in society.

CHAPTER TWO

PRAECEPTOR ANNI: THE CALENDRICAL MODEL AND THE *FASTI*'S DIDACTIC PROJECT

In the first chapter I argued that the *Fasti* figures calendar-building as an integral part of city-founding, both as a descriptive and prescriptive tool. Changes in the calendar come with changes in social organization, and the growing 'control' of the stars by Rome's calendar reflects Rome's expansion to an Italian, then a Mediterranean, power. How, then, does the poem figure its own calendar-building in relation to the real calendar? That is to say, what does Ovid's calendrical project have to do with those of Romulus and Numa, Caesar and Augustus?

Here I approach this question from two directions. First, I trace a pattern in the *Fasti* by which Ovid assimilates the work of the calendar-builders to poetic production, adducing them as leaders and examples to follow in his own poetic endeavor. This pattern begins to suggest a poetic model for thinking about the way the calendar organizes the year. In the second section, I examine this model more closely, focusing on the *Fasti*'s very unusual structure. I argue that the poem's book-per-month structure forces a dialogue between the structures of poetry and the calendar which aids the poet in an examination of how the calendar works as a meaningful social, religious and ideological institution. Ovid in a sense 'reads' the calendar and writes a poetic version of the Roman year that is organized by that reading; the correlations between poetic/didactic structures and calendrical structures are a central aspect of the *Fasti*'s didactic project.

Poetry and the calendar-builders

Many of the themes and much of the language in *Fasti* 3.71–166, which I discussed in the previous chapter as tying the progress of Roman expansion to the development of a calendar which controls the world with progressively more precision, is anticipated in Book 1

in a programmatic passage preceding the first astronomical entry in the poem:[1]

Quid vetat et stellas, ut quaeque oriturque caditque,
dicere? promissi pars sit et ista mei.
felices animae, quibus haec cognoscere primis
inque domos superas scandere cura fuit!
credibile est illos pariter vitiisque locisque
altius humanis exseruisse caput.
non Venus et vinum sublimia pectora fregit
officiumque fori militiaeve labor;
nec levis ambitio perfusaque gloria fuco
magnarumque fames sollicitavit opum.
admovere oculis distantia sidera mentis
aetheraque ingenio subposuere suo.
sic petitur caelum, non ut ferat Ossan Olympus
summaque Peliacus sidera tangat apex.
nos quoque sub ducibus caelum metabimur illis,
ponemus suos ad vaga signa dies.

[What prevents my telling also of the stars, how each rises and sets? Let that too be part of my promise. Happy souls, those who were first concerned to investigate these things and ascend to the houses on high! It is believable that they lifted their heads above both human vices and human places. Love and wine did not crush their exalted spirits, nor did the forum's business or the toil of war; nor did fleeting ambition and glory clothed in purple and hunger for great wealth trouble them. They brought the far-off stars near to the eyes of their minds and placed the upper air under their talent's control. That is the way to aim for the sky, not by making Olympus carry Ossa and the peak of Pelion touch the highest stars. With these men as leaders, I too will measure out the sky and will assign their days to the wandering signs.] (1.295–310)

The dependence of these lines on both Lucretius' praise of Epicurus (1.62–79) and Vergil's praise of astronomical or scientific poets and farmers at *Georgics* 2.475–540 is unmistakable but hard to pin down: the emphasis on the power of physical knowledge to raise the human race to the heavens is Lucretian in spirit, but for Ovid this knowledge frees one from *humanis vitiis*, not from the oppression of *religio*;

[1] Critics have often had difficulty integrating Ovid's astronomy with his treatments of the festal year. Cf. Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 27–50 for a brief history of the question and an argument that such an integration is necessary to a proper understanding of the work. Gee's recent volume (*Ovid, Aratus*) has significantly advanced and broadened our understanding of the role of astronomy in the poem.

the moralizing tone of the list of vices has more in common with the *Georgics* passage. Both authors refer, however, to a tradition that the poem hopes to follow: Lucretius, specifically to the philosophical science of Epicurus; Vergil, more broadly to scientific didactic poetry. Ovid seems to echo this dependence upon earlier models, promising to do his astronomical work *sub ducibus . . . illis*. We can indeed link the *Fasti*'s astronomical entries to the tradition of astronomical didactic, and specifically to Aratus, even tracing many of Ovid's inaccuracies to his poetic 'leaders' in the genre.[2]

The poem itself, however, provides us with another set of leaders, to whom the term *duces* and the almost military description of Ovid's service under these leaders (placing *signa*, measuring out the sky like a military camp)[3] perhaps more easily applies: the calendar-builders Romulus and Numa, Caesar and Augustus.[4] Just as here Ovid praises astronomy as both a believable means of climbing above the mortal sphere (1.299–300) and the proper way to the sky (*sic petitur caelum* . . . [1.307–8]), the proem of Book 3 links the calendar reforms of Caesar (Julius and/or Augustus) to his destined ascent to heaven as a god: *promissumque sibi voluit praenoscere caelum/nec deus ignotas hospes inire domos* [He wanted to know in advance the sky promised to him and didn't want to enter unfamiliar houses like a stranger] (3.159–60). Ovid's project of assigning days to the wandering stars (*ponemus suos ad vaga signa dies* [1.310]) likewise has a model in Caesar's calendrical accomplishments: *errabant etiam nunc tempora . . . ille moras solis, quibus in sua signa rediret,/traditur exactis disposuisse notis* [Even now

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[2] Cf. J. Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1822–23): 137–69; Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 32–40; and Gee, *Ovid, Aratus*, 47–65. Newlands argues that we should think primarily of Ovid's predecessors in Roman didactic and etiological poetry as his *duces*; Gee demonstrates through intertextual connections with Aratus and Manilius the particular centrality of astronomical didactic. By contrast, G. Herbert-Brown, based on Manilius and a useful survey of the political importance of astrology in Augustan Rome, argues that Ovid's *felices animae* are actually astrologers: "Ovid and the Stellar Calendar," in *Ovid's* Fasti: *Historical Readings at its Bimillenium*, ed. G. Herbert-Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 101–28. She explains the absence of further traces of predictive astrology in the text by hypothesizing its excision after Augustus curbed astrological consultation and prediction in 11 C.E. (Dio 56.25.5).

[3] Cf. Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 39–40; Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 179.

[4] *Dux* is used frequently elsewhere in *Fasti* of Augustus, Caesar, Tiberius, etc: 1.67, 613, 646, 2.60, 136, 139, 3.428, 848, 4.381, 408, 5.145, 6.92, 458. Barchiesi, *The Poet and Prince*, 177–79 and Gee, *Ovid, Aratus*, 60–61 also place one or more of the Caesars among Ovid's *duces*.

the seasons wandered . . . He is said to have laid out with precise notations the periods in which the sun returns to its signs] (3.155, 161–62). Ovid's description of the 'astronomers' whom he will follow as *quibus haec cognoscere primis/inque domos superas scandere cura fuit* (1.297–98) is echoed quite closely in his later lines on the Julian calendrical reforms both in Caesar's concern to 'know' the heavenly 'houses' in advance of his ascent to them (3.159–60, quoted above) and in the figuring of calendar as a 'concern': *Caesaris in multis haec quoque cura fuit* [This too was among Caesar's many concerns] (3.156). Ovid's expression of amazement that Caesar has undertaken the calendar among so many cares, and indeed considers it not the least of his duties (3.155–58) might suggest a reevaluation of the apparent division Ovid makes in Book 1 between earthly concerns and the study of the stars: the poet does not, in fact, say that his *duces* do not take part in the distractions of wine, women, the forum, the army, etc., only that these pursuits neither break their *sublimia pectora* nor disturb them![5]

By means of this ambiguity, this passage enters into an intertextual play that explores the relation between what are quite proper earthly concerns for a Roman *dux* and pursuits that effect a 'journey to the stars.' Some of this play is present in the two passages I have already mentioned. In Lucretius, the intellectual pursuits that allow Epicurus to raise his eyes from the ground and journey "outside the flaming walls of the world" (1.72–73) are couched in decidedly military terms, and the result is a victory that brings humanity to the level of the sky (1.78–79). While the triangulation of the *Georgics* passage (natural-scientific knowledge and poetry is best; the rural life, or poetry about it, is also good, because separated from the life of the city, the forum and the battlefield) underplays any direct opposition between knowledge of the stars and the concerns of a Roman *dux*, the *Aeneid* brings this opposition more strongly to the fore. Most striking in its opposition between astronomy and the role of a Roman *dux* is Anchises' famous creed, where 'others' will do astronomy while

[5] For Herbert-Brown, "Stellar Calendar," 106–8 this apparent division categorically excludes Roman senators as Ovid's *duces*. Cf. Barchiesi's argument (*The Poet and the Prince*, 177–79), that this denigration of the glories of the forum and war forces the imagined addressee, Germanicus, to divide himself in two. The combination of all these activities is precisely the point, however. The route to the sky that Ovid does explicitly reject, a gigantomachic piling of mountins (*Fasti* 1.307–8), does not amount to a rejection of political life or military pursuits *in toto*.

Romans will rule by means of well-ordered war and peace (*Aen.* 6.849–53). Even there, however, the question of whether Caesar and Augustus are subject to this sort of division of interests has already been raised. Just a bit earlier in the same speech, Anchises has pointed to the Julian family and then to Augustus in particular:

> *hic Caesar et omnis Iuli*
> *progenies magnum caeli ventura sub axem.*
> *hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,*
> *Augustus Caesar, divi genus . . .*
> . . .
> . . . *super et Garamantas et Indos*
> *proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus,*
> *extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas*
> *axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.*
>
> [Here are Caesar and all the line of Iulus, about to go under the great vault of heaven. This is the man, this is he, whom you so often hear promised to you, Augustus Caesar, the offspring of a god . . . he will extend empire beyond the Garamantes and the Indians; his territory will lie outside the stars and outside the paths of the year and the sun, where Atlas the heaven-bearer turns on his shoulder the vault tricked out with burning stars.]
>
> (*Aen.* 6.789–92, 794–97)

The 'astronomical' proportions of Roman *imperium* under Augustus put the stars within the power of the *princeps*. His introduction through his *gens* and Caesar, who are about to 'go under' the heavenly *axis*, underlines the connection of both Caesar and Augustus to Atlas, who turns the whole *axis* on his shoulder.[6] Control of the stars is figured here as part and parcel of military and imperial control, so that when Anchises strictly separates the two some sixty lines later, we already have a sense that this division is not suited to the current generation of *Romani*.

But, we find out a few books later, even Aeneas' son is concerned with getting to the stars. After Iulus' quite successful first attempt at military exploits, Apollo praises him: '*macte nova virtute, puer, sic itur ad astra,/dis genite et geniture deos*' ['Blessings on your new prowess, boy; that's the way to the stars, god-born child, destined to beget gods']

[6] Gee uses this passage in arguing for the astronomical import of the shield that Aeneas similarly 'shoulders' in Book 8, and for connections between Aeneas, Atlas, and Augustus (*Ovid, Aratus*, 37–41), but ignores the first two lines, which support her point nicely.

(*Aen.* 9.641–42). Here, approaching the stars is the direct result of military *virtus*, and is also closely linked to divinity. The future participle *geniture* points to the deifications of Iulus' descendants and particularly to Caesar's catasterism as proleptic models for Iulus' own ascent to the stars. Vergil has already emphasized the direct line from Iulus to Caesar with another quasi-astronomical tag in Jupiter's speech to Venus: *'Caesar,/imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,/Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo'* ['Julius Caesar, who will bound empire with Ocean and his fame with the stars, his name sent down from great Iulus'] (1.286–88). When Ovid cites Vergil's *sic itur ad astra* with his own *sic petitur caelum*, he thus evokes not only the model of Iulus' military pursuits but also the model of the 'gods' descended from him.[7] This activation of the Vergilian intertext once again suggests the Caesars, both Julius and Augustus, as potential *duces* for Ovid in "seeking the stars" and thus in the composition of the *Fasti*.

This interpretation helps give meaning to Ovid's somewhat surprising emphasis on his status as follower (*sub ducibus*). Roman poets are, of course, always in some sense followers, writing in a tradition acutely aware of itself. Considering, however, the extreme novelty of Ovid's project in the *Fasti*, however, we might expect a bit more boldness in the proclamation of his program. The claim of primacy is common in Republican and Augustan poetry, even (or especially) when acknowledging dependence on Greek tradition.[8] One of the instances of the *topos* in the *Georgics*, by its similarity to the Ovidian passage, brings Ovid's failure to claim primacy into particular focus. In the extended programmatic passage at the start of Book 3, Vergil rejects a series of tired Greek and particularly Alexandrian themes in favor of something else:

temptanda via est, qua me quoque possim
tollere humo victorque virum volitare per ora.
primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas

[A path must be tried, by which I too might lift myself from the ground and fly victorious through the mouths of men. I will be the

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[7] Other interpretations of the allusion: Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 179; Gee, *Ovid, Aratus*, 52–53; S. J. Green, *Ovid,* Fasti *I: A Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), ad 1.307.

[8] E.g. Lucr. 1.922–34, and a similar claim for Ennius at 1.117–19 (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 18.71); Hor. *O.* 3.30.10–14, *Epist.* 1.19.23–24; Verg. *Geo.* 2.175, 3.8–11; Prop. 3.3.

> first, if only I live long enough, to lead the Muses into my homeland with me as I return from the Aonian height.]
>
> (*Geo.* 3.8–10)

Like Ovid, Vergil represents his poetic path as one of ascension, and like Ovid, he acknowledges predecessors (*me quoque* [*Geo* 3.8]; *nos quoque* [*Fast.* 1.309]). He nonetheless also marks out a particular ground of primacy for himself, a step that Ovid does not take. The timidity in the calendar poet's voice in the astronomical proem seems due not so much to literary 'anxiety of influence,' as to the necessity of negotiating his relationship with his political *duces*, those other 'writers' of calendars;[9] one can hardly claim primacy with the *princeps* lurking in the background. The question of this poem's relationship to the calendrical model, and particularly to the calendrical model as revised by Caesar and Augustus in recent memory, makes the poet's definition of his relationship to tradition a matter of more than poetic importance.

That the *Fasti* is to be conceived of as an emulation of the actions of the city- and calendar-builders[10] is apparent elsewhere as well, most obviously in the proem of Book 6, where Juno addresses the poet as "founder of the Roman year" (*Romani conditor anni* [6.21]), and describes his project as the founding of festivals: *cum placuit numeris condere festa tuis* (6.24).[11] The language of foundation naturally evokes the foundation of the city and closely echoes language used of Romulus elsewhere in the poem. In the proem to Book 3, the syntax by which Ovid names Romulus as *Romanae conditor urbis* (3.24) matches perfectly his own role as *Romani conditor anni.* At 1.27, Romulus is addressed as "founder of the city" at precisely the moment when he is laying out the calendar: *tempora digereret cum conditor urbis*; compare Ovid's statement of his topic as *tempora . . . digesta per annum* (1.1). This similarity of expression closely links city-founding and calendar-founding and casts Ovid's composition of the *Fasti* as a close analog to the foundation of Rome itself.[12]

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[9] The tone is similar to his request to Germanicus at the start of the poem: *timidae derige navis iter* (1.4).

[10] On equations between the founding of the city and literary composition more generally, cf. Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 6–8; Fox, *Historical Myths*, 186–87.

[11] Miller, *Elegiac Festivals*, 41–43 notes that *conditor* can later refer to the founder of a genre (cf. Plin. *N.H.* pr. 26, 35.199 [cf. 15.49, pr. 7]; Quint. 10.1.95) and relates the title to Juno's description of the poet as *ause per exiguos magna referre modos* (6.22).

[12] Except when it means 'to hide' (2.561 and 786), all the *Fasti*'s active uses of

Conversely, Romulus' foundation, both of the city and of the calendar, is described in distinctly literary terms. In a prayer addressed to Jupiter, Mars, and Vesta at the moment of the city's founding, Romulus both echoes the beginning of the *Fasti* and makes use of a phrase typical of literary beginnings more generally:

condenti, Iuppiter, urbem
et genitor Mavors Vestaque mater, ades,
quosque pium est adhibere deos, advertite cuncti:
auspicibus vobis hoc mihi surgat opus.
longa sit huic aetas dominaeque potentia terrae,
sitque sub hac oriens occiduusque dies

[Support me as I found the city, Jupiter and Father Mars and Mother Vesta and all you gods whom it is right to summon, heed my prayers: under your auspices, let my work rise. May this mistress land have long life and power and may the rising and the setting sun be under its control.]

(4.827–32)

Romulus' prayer at the start of his city redeploys elements of Ovid's invocation of Germanicus at the start of the *Fasti*. Both prayers ask that their addressee(s) be present (*ades*: 1.6; 4.828); they refer to the work at hand as an *opus* (1.4; 4.830) and ask the addressee to pay attention to it (1.5; 4.829); the speaker refers to himself with a dative present participle (*adnue conanti* [1.15]; *condenti . . . ades* [4.827–28]); finally, each prayer concludes with wishes for the future of the work under the auspices of the addressee(s) (*auspice te felix totus ut annus eat* [1.26]; *'auspicibus vobis, hoc mihi surgat opus./longa sit huic . . .'* [4.830–31]). Though the language of prayer is strongly conventional, these parallels may be profitably considered in combination with other hints at the similarity of the two enterprises, the beginning of a city and the beginning of a poem.

Most significant in this regard is Romulus' exhortation of his work to rise: *hoc mihi surgat opus* (4.830). The phrase *surgat opus* is re-used in the *Fasti*'s very next 'beginning,' the first line of the entry for May 1: *Ab Iove surgat opus* [Let the work rise from Jove] (5.111). Although the beginning of a poem *ab Iove* is common,[13] nowhere

condere and *conditor* refer either to Romulus or to Ovid. The verb is used of Romulus' foundation of the city (3.69, 4.801, 4.827–28), and a cult (6.793–94), and of Remus' burial (5.451).

[13] Cf. the list in Bömer, ad *Fast.* 5.111. Aratus' *Phaenomena*, Callimachus' first hymn and Theocritus 17 all begin from Zeus; Roman poets associated the topos

else does it take this particular form; the proximity of the only two uses of the phrase *surgat opus* in the *Fasti* ties the poem's own composition to the foundation of the city.[14] Ovid had used an identical phrase in the *Amores* in a manner that makes clear its formulaic nature for marking a poetic work's beginning. In *Amores* 1.1, after Cupid has foiled the poet's plans for a hexametric epic by stealing a foot from his second line, Ovid admits that he is conquered and 'begins' his book of elegiac couplets: *sex mihi surgat opus numeris, in quinque residat* [Let my work rise in six feet and fall in five] (1.1.27). This playful use of the formula refers simultaneously to the beginning of the work and to the beginning of every couplet: it is precisely this sense of continually beginning again that is supposed to make elegiacs inappropriate for long narrative poetry.

Propertius had also played with the phrase in the first poem of his fourth book to think about the relation between poetic composition and city foundation. Earlier in the same poem, the poet quite clearly expresses a desire to emulate the city's foundation in poetry: *optima nutricum nostris lupa Martia rebus,/qualia creverunt moenia lacte tuo!/moenia namque pio coner disponere versu* [O best of nurses for our country, she-wolf of Mars, what walls have grown from your milk! For I will endeavor to lay out those walls in pious verse] (4.1.55–57). In the lines that follow, Propertius plays with the word *surgere*, applying it to both his poetry and the city to extend this trope of emulation:

> *Roma, fave, tibi surgit opus . . .*
>
> [Greetings, Rome, this work rises for you . . .]
>
> (4.1.67)

> *dicam: 'Troia cades, et Troica Roma resurges;'*
>
> [I will say: 'You will fall, Troy, and you, Trojan Rome, will rise again;]
>
> (4.1.87)[15]

with Hellenistic poetry and used it particularly as an "Aratean signature" (Gee, *Ovid, Aratus*, 129): cf. Germanicus' *Aratus* 1.1; Cic. *Aratea*, fr. 1.

[14] Cf. Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 69; B. Weiden Boyd, "*Celabitur auctor*: The Crisis of Authority and Narrative Patterning in Ovid *Fasti* 5," *Phoenix* 54 (2000): 64–98, 93.

[15] This line and the one that follows it in the manuscript tradition are almost certainly misplaced. Editors have placed them after lines 52 (Mueller), 54 (Baehrens), 68 (Marcilius) and 70 (Scaliger), in all cases bringing them into closer proximity to line 67's *surgit opus*.

The close connections in genre and program between Propertius' fourth book and the *Fasti* make it quite likely that this poem served as a model for the play with *surgere* we see in Ovid.[16] The *Fasti* goes a step beyond Propertius, however, verging on inverting the relationship between emulated and emulator, as the parallels between Romulus' foundation and Ovid's composition make a poetic composition of the city-foundation as much as the reverse.

Romulus and Ovid's *opera* are also represented as similarly audacious and unexpected in their scope. Directly after Ovid's narration of the death and funeral of Remus, who foolishly jumped Romulus' low walls (*humiles . . . muros* [4.841]), we read about the prodigious growth of the city: *urbs oritur (quis tunc hoc ulli credere posset?)/victorem terris impositura pedem* [A city rises (who could have believed someone saying this then?) which will place its conquering foot upon the world] (4.857–58). The topos of Rome's rise from small beginnings is common, but the doubt and disbelief expressed in this line are not; elsewhere, the emphasis often falls instead on the power inherent in the site of Rome even before the foundation.[17] Here, after Romulus has begun to build the city, but before it has grown to a military power (note the future participle, *impositura*), doubt, which is at the same time an expression of the audacity and uniqueness of the enterprise, is given voice. The parenthetical question here calls to mind the proem of Book 2, which falls at a similar point in Ovid's *opus*—after the beginning, but before the work has begun to grow:

Ianus habet finem. cum carmine crescit et annus:
alter ut hic mensis, sic liber alter eat.
nunc primum velis, elegi, maioribus itis:
exiguum, memini, nuper eratis opus.
ipse ego vos habui faciles in amore ministros,
cum lusit numeris prima iuventa suis.

---

[16] Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 69; Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 7; G. Lieberg, *Poeta Creator: Studien zu einer Figur der antiken Dichtung* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1982), 28–34.

[17] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8.348–50, of the Capitoline: *aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis./iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestis/dira loci, iam tum silvam saxumque tremunt*; Tib. 2.5.23: *Romulus aeternae nondum formaverat urbis/moenia.* In Tibullus' Latin, "eternal" and "not yet" are strikingly juxtaposed, and indeed Rome is "eternal" *before* it is "not yet"! The closest parallel to the expression of disbelief here also occurs in the *Fasti*, in the mouth of Carmentis as she is seeing a vision of Rome's future: *fallor, an hi fient ingentia moenia colles,/iuraque ab hac terra cetera terra petet?/montibus his olim totus promittitur orbis./quis tantum fati credat habere locum?* (1.515–23). Cf. also Liv. 1 pr. 4.

idem sacra cano signataque tempora fastis:
ecquis ad haec illinc crederet esse viam?

[Janus has its end. The year grows along with the song: as another month goes, thus let another book go. Now for the first time, elegies, you're traveling under bigger sails: just recently, I remember, you were a little work. I myself had you as ready helpers in love when my early youth played in its proper meter. I, that same man, am singing the rites and times marked in the calendar: would anyone believe that there was a way from there to here?]

(2.1–8)

This proem is, of course, in large part a reference to Ovid's earlier career, lines 5–6 explicitly so. The poet's earlier work was *exiguum* in that it refused national themes. Indeed, Ovid had bid farewell to elegy at the end of the *Amores* with an image similar to the "bigger sails" of 2.3, though equestrian rather than nautical: *pulsanda est magnis area maior equis* [My horses need to run in a bigger field] (*Am.* 3.15.18). The fact that Ovid has found his *area maior* without, in fact, leaving behind his elegiac couplets is treated more explicitly in the proem to Book 4, as the poet defends himself against a slightly miffed Venus (*Fast.* 4.1–10).

However, by reading these lines as having to do not only with the movement from small to large topics, that is the growth in scope of Ovid's *opera*, but also with the growth of this particular *opus*, the *Fasti*, a clever parallel to the narrative of the foundation of the city which Ovid offers in Book 4 emerges. The lines fall at the beginning of the second book, the point where the work, in a certain sense, commits itself to being large "for the first time": *nunc primum velis, elegi, maioribus itis* (2.3). Ovid's memory in the next line is not only of his earlier works, but of the first book of *this* work; his song is growing along with the year (1–2), and he remembers how, a few scant lines and a single day ago, it had not yet made that leap from one book to two and (inevitably?) to twelve. Here the inseparability of poem and year, book and month, which has already been suggested at 1.26 (*auspice te felix totus ut annus eat*), is made more explicit than anywhere else in the poem. The last line of Book 1 is *cumque suo finem mense libellus habet*, so that when Book 2 begins *Ianus habet finem*, it is brilliantly ambiguous whether *Ianus* refers to the month or to the book.[18] The final question, then, "Could anyone believe

[18] On the 'simultaneity' of year, poem, and poetic composition, K. Volk, "*Cum*

there was a way from there to here?" refers both to the novel material of the *Fasti* and to this first passage from one month to the next which sets the poem on its road to monumentality.[19] The parallel with the similar question at the beginning of Rome's growth (*quis tunc hoc ulli credere posset?* [4.857]) is clear: Romulus' audacious project, his foundation of a city which would grow to rule the world, is couched in much the same terms as Ovid's, the foundation of a poem which will grow beyond expectations.[20]

One final Romulean passage will bring us back to that correlate of the foundation of the city, the establishment of the calendar, which is also presented in literary (and literate) terms, and in terms that fit well with the antiquarian pose of the *Fasti*'s poet. At the start of Book 4, Ovid assures Caesar (here, Germanicus or Augustus) that April ought to be of interest because of the Julian family's relationship with Venus, the month-name *Aprilis* being derived from her Greek name. It was due, it seems, to Romulus' careful research that Venus received her month:

hoc pater Iliades, cum longum scriberet annum,
vidit et auctores rettulit ipse tuos:
utque fero Marti primam dedit ordine sortem,
quod sibi nascendi proxima causa fuit,
sic Venerem gradibus multis in gente receptam
alterius voluit mensis habere locum;
principiumque sui generis revolutaque quaerens
saecula, cognatos venit adusque deos.

[Father [Romulus], born of Ilia, when he was writing the long year, saw this and he himself reported your sources; and just as he gave fierce Mars the first lot in order, because he was the most immediate

carmine crescit et annus: Ovid's *Fasti* and the Poetics of Simultaneity," *TAPA* 127 (1997): 287–313. More on this structural device and its importance for the poem below.

[19] This reading contributes to the emerging consensus (e.g. L. Braun, "Kompositionskunst in Ovids *Fasti*," *ANRW* 2.31.4 (1981), 2346–53 and 2363; Fantham, "Ovid, Germanicus," 257–58; Miller, *Elegiac Festivals*, 143–44; Barchiesi, "Endgames", 200, n.36) that the proem to Book 2 was not, as was thought for many years, originally written for the beginning of the poem.

[20] A very similar phrase marks the first major transition of the *Metamorphoses* as the poem moves from the world of gods to the world of heroes, a point also marked by a continental divide and its bridging: *quaeque urbes aliae bimari clauduntur ab Isthma/exteriusque sitae bimari spectantur ab Isthmo;/credere quis posset?* (*Met.* 6.419–21). Cf. Barchiesi, "Endgames," 182–83 on the first two lines. DeBrohun argues for a related use of the metaphor of the city's growth to txplore the 'growth' of elegy in Propertius 4.1 (*Roman Propertius*, 92–97).

cause of his own birth, thus he wanted Venus, retrieved from many generations back in the family, to have a place in the second month; and seeking his family's beginning and the rolled-out generations, he came finally to divine kin.]

(4.23–30)

There follows an impressive list of Romulus' ancestors beginning with Jupiter, the father of Dardanus (4.31–32). More clearly than anywhere else, Romulus' 'composition' of the year is here aligned with Ovid's, both in the sense that it is literate, being written down, and in that it is antiquarian, requiring research into the distant past.[21] Lines 29–30 picture Romulus rolling through a scroll of his ancestors to the beginning of his line; Frazer's translation neatly acknowledges the ambiguity between the simple expression of time and the physical rolling of a scroll: "he turned over the roll of the centuries." The calendar-poet describes his own much more pedestrian research with the same base verb, as he rolls through the calendar looking in vain for the sowing festival of the *Sementiva: Ter quater evolvi signantes tempora fastos* [Three, four times I rolled through the calendar that records the festivals] (1.657). *Auctore*s, in line 24, carries a similar ambiguity: Romulus records the "originators" of his family and Caesar's, but also, surely, the literary "authorities" on whom he bases his information, that is, his "sources." With an even more specific correspondence to Ovid's own calendrical project, it emerges that Romulus is writing a year *cum causis*: Mars is given pride of place in the calendar as the *proxima causa* of Romulus' birth (26). Finally, the word *principium* in line 29 also has a technical literary and rhetorical sense, designating the preface of a speech or book:[22] Romulus was looking for the best way to start off his work and found it in Mars and Venus. Again, in the list that follows of the ancestors of the Julians, we get hints at sources, or at antiquarian methodology: a list of *tituli* at Alba (44); etymological tracing of a name to a Trojan ancestor (45); less clear hints at progress through a physical list (*proximus* [35]; *venimus* [39]). Once Ovid has placed us in a literary framework with *scriberet* (23) these associations are hard to avoid.

[21] Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 172–73. On antiquarianism in the *Fasti*, Pasco-Pranger, "*Vates operosus*."

[22] *Rhet. Her.* 1.6; Quint. *Inst.* 4.1.1.

We have then, a city founder who 'writes' the year and begins the city with quasi-poetic formulae; on the other hand, we have a calendar poet who 'founds' the year, and whose *opus* grows beyond expectations in the same surprising manner as the city of Rome. We have already seen that Ovid's calendrical project and the Julio-Claudian one are couched in similar terms, especially as regards the astronomical side of Ovid's work, so that Caesar and Augustus are, as much as Aratus, Ovid's *duces* in these matters. Up to this point, we have left Numa out of the equation, however, in large part because this last calendar-builder's relationship to the world of poetry is more complex and has a more extensive literary background than that of the others. Numa's relationship, sometimes figured as a marriage, with the nymph or water-goddess Egeria, who advised Numa particularly on religious issues, is closely linked to narratives of poetic inspiration, and Egeria is also linked in cult and tradition to the Camenae. A brief survey of this tradition and especially of its use in Plutarch's *Life of Numa* will situate my discussion of Ovid's association of Numa with poetic production.[23]

A conversation between Numa and the nymph Egeria appears already in Ennius (fr. 113 Sk), and the relationship is a generally accepted part of the poetic tradition, providing material for amusing erotic vignettes in Martial (10.35.13–14) and Juvenal (1.3.11 ff.). Egeria is frequently topographically connected with the Arician grove at Lake Nemi (Verg. *Aen.* 7.761–4 and Serv. ad loc.; *Fast.* 3.263 ff.) but also with a grove outside the Porta Capena which she seems to have shared with the Camenae.[24] According to some sources, Numa dedicated the latter grove to the Camenae in honor of his nocturnal *congressus* there with Egeria (Liv. 1.21.3, Juv. 1.3.11 ff.). Plutarch makes the dedication of the grove to the Camenae the result of the appearance of the mystically charged shield, the *ancile*, in that place, where the king also used to meet with the Muses (*Num.* 13.2). The relationship between Egeria and the Camenae is not entirely clear, but it seems likely that both she and they were originally water god-

[23] An extension of this discussion appears in "A Varronian Vatic Numa?: Ovid's *Fasti* and Plutarch's *Life of Numa*," in *Clio and the Poets: Augustan Poetry and the Traditions of Ancient Historiography*, edd. D. S. Levene and D. P. Nelis (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 291–312.

[24] See L. Richardson, Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), *s.v.* "Camenae"; *LTUR*, *s.v.* "Camenae, Camenarum fons et lucus".

desses or nymphs, and indeed both of Egeria's cult locations are associated with springs. Dionysius reports that some consider Egeria to be simply one of the Camenae (*Ant. Rom.* 2.60.5) and this judgment has met with some support from modern scholars.[25]

Plutarch's treatment of the entire myth of Egeria and Numa is highly unusual and is useful for our discussion because of the biographer's extensive use of Varronian sources in the earliest Roman lives, and the resulting likelihood that he and Ovid shared sources in their treatment of Numa.[26] By elaborating implicit connections between Numa and the poetic tradition of inspired poets, Plutarch brings to the fore themes that are also present in the *Fasti*'s treatment of Numan myths. At first Plutarch emphasizes the asceticism of Numa's life prior to his call to Rome, and his solitary, rural existence: Ὁ δὲ Νομᾶς ἐκλείπων τὰς ἐν ἄστει διατριβὰς ἀγραυλεῖν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πλανᾶσθαι μόνος ἤθελεν, ἐν ἄλσεσι θεῶν καὶ λειμῶσιν ἱεροῖς καὶ τόποις ἐρήμοις ποιούμενος τὴν δίαιταν [Numa, leaving behind the pastimes of the city, wished to live in the country for the most part and to wander alone, making a life for himself in the groves of the gods, sacred meadows and empty places] (*Num.* 4.1). He then treats the story of Numa's relationship with Egeria as having arisen from his lifestyle, that is to say, his solitude and the places he frequented were appropriate to divine inspiration and thus men constructed a story in which Numa was divinely inspired (τὰ θεῖα πεπνυμένος γέγονεν [*Num.* 4.2]). In a second passage, Plutarch lists poets and sages who had a special relationship with a god or the Muses as parallels to Numa's relationship with Egeria:

> Πινδάρου δὲ καὶ τῶν μελῶν ἐραστὴν γενέσθαι τὸν Πᾶνα μυθολογοῦσιν. ἀπέδωκε δέ τινα τιμὴν καὶ Ἀρχιλόχῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ τελευτήσασι διὰ τὰς Μούσας τὸ δαιμόνιον. Σοφοκλεῖ δὲ καὶ ζῶντι τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἐπιξενωθῆναι λόγος ἐστὶ πολλὰ μέχρι δεῦρο διασώζων τεκμήρια, καὶ τελευτήσαντι τυχεῖν ταφῆς ἄλλος θεός, ὡς λέγεται, παρέσχεν.
>
> [They tell stories that Pan fell in love with Pindar and his songs. And, because of the Muses, the divinity bestowed honor on both Archilochus and Hesiod after their deaths. And there is a story, many proofs of which survive to this day, that Asclepius was on friendly terms with

[25] See Samter, *RE*, vol. 5.2, coll. 1980–81, *s.v.* "Egeria" on the association between the two.

[26] Peter, *Quellen Plutarchs*, esp. 168–70 and Pasco-Pranger, "Varronian Vatic Numa?".

> Sophocles even while he was alive; and when he died another god, as they tell it, made sure he received a tomb.]
>
> (*Num.* 4.6)

Hesiod's meeting with the Muses is, of course, the best-known of this set, falling as it does at the start of his *Theogony* (22–34). Hesiod's song begins from the Muses, and relates his encounter with and subsequent instruction by them at the foot of Mount Helicon as he is shepherding (23), alone in the bucolic quasi-wilderness. The verb ἀγραυλεῖν which Plutarch uses of Numa's solitary existence is rare and likely meant to echo the Muses opening address to Hesiod: ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι. . . .[27] Since it serves as the paradigm for so many subsequent poetic initiations in the Greek and Roman traditions, the Hesiodic articulation of this scene is crucial for our understanding of Plutarch's connection of Numa's rural, solitary lifestyle to the story of his relationship with Egeria.[28]

The *Fasti* itself acknowledges the Hesiodic template of an ideal divine encounter in the proem of Book 6, where the poet withdraws to a shady, secluded grove with running water (6.9–10) to give thought to the meaning of the month-name *Iunius*. The details of setting here are not casual. Water becomes an ever-present and central symbol in the settings of post-Hesiodic scenes of poetic initiation and is even projected backward to the Hesiodic scene by Callimachus and the Hellenistic epigrammatists, despite its complete absence in the original text.[29] The watered grove makes a certain narrative sense in a scene where a shepherd is at rest with his flocks: the shade provided by trees or a cave, cool water, and song are the constant preoccupations of Vergil's shepherds in the *Eclogues* (1.1–2, 1.51–52, 2.2–5, 5.1–6, 5.40–41, etc.). The both the bucolic and Hesiodic overtones of the grove in *Fasti* 6 are confirmed when Ovid meets three goddesses there:

> *ecce deas vidi, non quas praeceptor arandi*
> *viderat, Ascraeas cum sequeretur oves,*

[27] In Homeric usage, the adjective occurs only of shepherds (*Il.* 18.162: again, ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι) and of cattle. Apollonius uses it in the same way (1.575: ἀγραύλοιο . . . σημαντῆρος; 4.317: ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι). Strabo 15.3.18 uses the verb with ποιμαίνειν in an essentially hendiadic phrase describing the life of Cappadocian boys and young men.

[28] A. Kambylis, *Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolique: Untersuchungen zu Hesiodos, Kallimachos, Properz und Ennius* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1965).

[29] Ibid., 65–67.

nec quas Priamides in aquosae vallibus Idae
contulit: ex illis sed tamen una fuit.

[Behold, I saw goddesses! Not the ones the teacher of plowing saw, when he was following the Ascraean sheep, nor those whom Priam's son compared in a valley of watery Ida: but still there was one of those.]

(6.13–16)

The bucolic connotations of the scenery are acknowledged in Ovid's comment that these goddesses are not the ones that appeared to the shepherd Hesiod; Paris' divine encounter was bucolic as well, of course, and we even find the ever-present water in Ovid's line on him. Though Ovid seems to reject these models, both comparanda are thematically important for scene that follows as Juno, Juventas and Concordia give Ovid three conflicting etymologies for the name of the month. Ovid's interview with the goddesses thus echoes the questions of truth and fiction raised by Hesiod's Muses who "know how to tell many lies that seem true, but . . . know how to tell the truth too, when [they] want to" (27–28) as well as the divine discord and competition exemplified by the story of the Judgment of Paris.[30] The poet thus constructs a set of stories of divine encounter and/or poetic initiation that serve to define and delineate his own encounter with inspiring goddesses and he places that encounter in a bucolic, Hesiodic locale. Plutarch's situation of Numa's relationship with Egeria within a similar set of comparanda, one that includes Hesiod, and his connection of this relationship with his habit of living in the wilderness like a shepherd marks Numa's relation to Egeria as not just erotic but also poetic. The close association of Numa and his lover with the Camenae, which appears both in the *Fasti* (3.275) and in Plutarch (*Num.* 8.6) must have facilitated this interpretation: after the Augustan poets, and particularly Horace, revived the use of the Camenae as distinctly Italian equivalents of the Muses,[31] a man who frequently met with the Camenae would naturally invite comparison to the poets.

Plutarch, then, acknowledges the similarity of Numa's position to that of an inspired poet; the *Fasti* 'knows' the Hesiodic story of poetic

[30] On the latter point, see Loehr, *Mehrfacherklärungen*, 306–09, 342–59.

[31] Cf. D. O. Ross, *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry. Gallus, Elegy and Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 146–49; the equivalence seems to have been established by Livius Andronicus and Naevius, but does not appear again in extant literature until Vergil.

inspiration, and the tradition of Numa's connection to the Italian Muses, but can we say that the poem takes the final step of connecting Numa's consultation with Egeria to poetic inspiration? Does the *Fasti* in any way make a poet of Numa? On the one hand, we do not see in the *Fasti*'s treatment of Numa the same play with 'writing' and 'works' that we saw above with Romulus. However, Hinds has noted in two passages involving Numa (3.151–154, 259–392) strong poetic overtones which draw connections between Numa and the poet of the *Fasti*.[32] The king and his nymph/wife are surrounded by programmatic language in the passages that introduce them, and are made the protagonists of a narrative whose action is clearly in the realm of poetic production.

The first passage in question sends up multiple flags for a reader even passingly familiar with the language of Roman Alexandrianism:

primus, oliviferis Romam deductus ab arvis,
Pompilius menses sensit abesse duos,
sive hoc a Samio doctus, qui posse renasci
nos putat, Egeria sive monente sua.

[Pompilius, led down to Rome from the olive-bearing fields, first noticed that two months were missing, whether taught this by the Samian who thinks we can be born again, or whether by the instruction of his own Egeria.]

(3.151–54)

Numa is "led down" to Rome using a verb familiar from the first lines of the *Metamorphoses* (*ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen* [1.4]). The *deductum carmen*, widely recognized as the Latin equivalent of Callimachus' Μοῦσαν λεπταλέην (*Aet.* 1 fr. 1.24),[33] would perhaps not necessarily leap to mind[34] were it not for the word *doctus* two lines later. The *doctrina* of the poet is another defining characteristic of Hellenistic poetry, and the word is placed in the midst of a learned periphrasis typical of the Alexandrians and their follow-

[32] "*Arma*—Part 2," 119–20 and n. 5, and 124, n. 9. My discussion in this section owes much to Hinds', which seeks to demonstrate an affinity between Numa and the material and genre of the *Fasti*. Barchiesi also briefly treats the poetic implications of this episode (*The Poet and the Prince*, 110–12), emphasizing in particular Numa's composition of the *Carmen Saliare* (3.388).

[33] E.g., Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.225, Verg, *Ecl.* 6.5, Prop. 1.16.41. For the programmatic use of *deductum* with thorough bibliography see Myers, *Ovid's Causes*, 4, n. 13. For further discussion of the primary sources, Hinds, *Metamorphosis*, 18–21 and notes.

[34] The word is used of Numa in Livy as well (1.18.6), without arousing any suspicion of Alexandrianism.

ers, naming Pythagoras only by his birthplace and a detail of his philosophy.[35] Numa, then is both *doctus* and *deductus*, highly suited to the *Fasti*'s aetiological elegy. Finally, the alternative possibility, that Numa made his calendrical revisions *Egeria . . . monente*, likewise points to the king's affinity with the poet of the *Fasti*, whose continual requests for information from the gods are often phrased with the verb *monere*.[36] Especially telling is his request to Egeria herself, just over a hundred lines later: *nympha, mone . . . / nympha, Numae coniunx* [Nymph, advise me . . . nymph, wife of Numa] (3.261–62). Numa and the poet both write their calendars *Egeria . . . monente*.[37]

The request to Egeria just quoted leads off a second passage also replete with programmatic language, Ovid's description of the grove at Aricia in which he places the meetings between Numa and the nymph:

> *vallis Aricinae silva praecinctus opaca*
> *est lacus, antiqua religione sacer*
> . . .
> *defluit incerto lapidosus murmure rivus:*
> *saepe, sed exiguis haustibus, inde bibi.*
> *Egeria est, quae praebet aquas, dea grata Camenis:*
> *illa Numae coniunx consiliumque fuit.*

> [Encircled by the dark woods of the Arician valley there is a lake, held sacred by the old religion . . . a rocky stream flows down with a hesitant murmuring: often I have drunk from it, but with little sips. It's Egeria who offers the water, that goddess pleasing to the Camenae: she was Numa's wife and his councilor.]
> (3.263–64, 273–76)

We get again here the bucolic *locus amoenus* of a shady grove with running water we have seen to be an ideal place for poetic inspiration. Here, the poet does not actually meet the Muses, but does invoke the goddess' relation to the Camenae (*grata Camenis*) and claims to have drunk of Egeria's water "with little sips." The manner of the poet's drinking activates the play between 'big' and 'small' so

[35] In this glaringly obvious periphrasis, the point must be not so much a demonstration of learning as an allusion to the *style* of learned periphrases. On the Pythagorean practice of avoiding naming the master, see F. Bömer, ed. and comm., *P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphosen* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1986), ad *Met.* 15.60.

[36] 1.227, 467; 3.167; 4.247; 5.447.

[37] Myers (*Ovid's Causes*, 81–82) notes the similarity of Numa's 'research' in Croton in *Met.* 15.4–11 to the antiquarian search for aetia undertaken by the narrator of the *Fasti*.

common in discussions of epic and the 'lesser' genres.[38] Propertius' narrative of his own poetic initiation makes use of a very similar image, as the poet attempts to drink from a stream (epic) too big for his (elegiac) mouth: *parvaque tam magnis admoram fontibus ora,/unde pater sitiens Ennius ante bibit* [I had put my small lips to the spring so great from which father Ennius, thirsty, drank before] (3.3.5–6). Ovid's 'autobiographical' intrusion into the narrative of an aetion, rare in the *Fasti*, is surely pointed, drawing a parallel between Numa and the poet: just as Numa received counsel (*consilium*) from the goddess for his establishment of laws and rites (3.279–84), so the poet of the *Fasti* received from her poetic inspiration in his own establishment of the sacral year (*Romani conditor anni* [6.21]).

From this highly poetic introduction follows the poem's most extensive treatment of Numa, an aetion that combines into a single narrative two stories reported separately elsewhere in a manner which heightens the poetic associations of both. Ovid introduces the aetion with the question, "Now who will tell me why the Salii carry Mars' heavenly arms and sing 'Mamurius'?" (3.259–60). The calendrical occasion that prompts the inquiry is the festival of Mars on the first of March during which the Salii made the first of the year's ritual dances through the city.[39] Each of the twelve priests of Mars carried one of the small bronze shields called *ancilia*, eleven of which were supposed to have been copies of an original *ancile* which, during the reign of Numa, fell from the sky as a sign of the gods' favor in ending a plague or a drought, and as a pledge of their continued support of the Romans. In order to protect the original shield, Numa had a bronzesmith, Veturius Mamurius, make eleven perfect copies, and entrusted the care of all twelve to the Salii. Mamurius asked that his name be included in the Carmen Saliare as a reward for his services. This basic narrative, given by both Plutarch (*Num.* 13) and Verrius Flaccus' epitomizer Festus (117 L), is surely sufficient answer to the question which leads off this aetion, and Ovid reports it faithfully in most details (3.367–92).

Before he arrives at this narrative, however, the poet inserts another much longer story associated with Numa concerning the king's bind-

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[38] Cf. P. E. Knox, "Wine, Water and Callimachean Poetics," *HSPh* 89 (1985): 107–19; Conte, *Genres and Readers*, 109–11. Cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.15.35–36, *ex Pon.* 4.2.15–20. Cf. the programmatic use of *exiguus* in *Fasti* 2.4, 6.22.

[39] H. H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 85–86.

ing of the woodland gods Picus and Faunus, his conjuring of Jupiter Elicius, and the word game between Numa and Jupiter which results in an agreement on an expiatory sacrifice in the event of lightning strikes (3.285–348). The two myths are linked together by Jupiter's promise at the end of the first to give guarantees (*pignora certa* [3.346]) of his good faith, a promise fulfilled by the appearance of the *ancile* on the following day. This grafting together of the two myths affects the aetion itself very little: the only significant details that differ from the versions of Plutarch and Festus are that the whole episode results from a spate of lightning strikes rather than from a plague or a drought, and that Jupiter Elicius is specified as the celestial origin of the ancile.[40] Because of its close association with poetry and particularly with the sort of etymological word play that is the basis of much of the *Fasti*'s 'antiquarian' poetry, the grafted narrative adds much to the *Fasti*'s representation of Numa as a quasi-poet, and one whose aesthetic and topical interests coincide with those of the *Fasti*.

The narrative which Ovid grafts on to the aetion of the *ancilia* has two basic actions: the binding of Picus and Faunus, and the word duel with Jupiter. The first scene is of a type first exemplified by the binding of Proteus by Menelaus in *Odyssey* 4.382–569. There, Proteus' daughter, Eidothea, teaches Menelaus how to deceive the sea-god and hold him by force through his changes of form. When the god returns to his original form, he answers Menelaus' questions. The poetic associations there are not overt: Proteus becomes an internal narrator, predicting the events of Menelaus' *nostos*, and has mantic/poetic knowledge of events both past and future, but there is no obvious exploitation of Proteus' as a proto-poet. Nonetheless, the scene's potential as an exemplar of poetic production seems to have struck a chord with Vergil at least, who twice uses binding scenes in highly programmatic passages: the binding of Silenus by shepherd boys in *Eclogue* 6, and the binding of Proteus by Aristaeus in *Georgics* 4.387 ff.[41] These two uses of the binding theme point to

[40] That the combination of these two stories is Ovid's own invention is amply demonstrated by Porte, *Etiologie religieuse*, 131–39. Merli, *Arma canant alii*, 117–21 explores its effect on the treatment of Mars and militarism in Book 3.

[41] *Eclogue* 6's opening *recusatio* (3–8), with its clear echoes of Callimachean poetics (*Aet.* fr. 1.21–24 Pf.), sets up a programmatic tone which is continued by the narration of the binding of Silenus, and by the god's song itself. The latter is, in W. Clausen's words, "a neoteric *ars poetica* artfully concealed, with but a single subject: poetry, poetry as conceived by Callimachus (and poets after Callimachus) and

its susceptibility to exploitation for programmatic and poetic purposes, with both the bound god and the binder acting in part as stand-ins for the poet; the image of binding, which forces the gods to deliver meaning, invites the use of the topos to explore the poetic manipulation of language.

When the image is reused by Ovid, inserted in an aetion where it has no rightful place, we should, then, be primed to recognize its poetic connotations. Indeed, we have already been put on alert by the clearly programmatic description of the grove of Egeria and the water offered by the goddess to the poet which precedes these lines. The description of the stream on the Aventine where Numa ambushes Picus and Faunus distinctly echoes the earlier description of the spring in Egeria's grove, not in vocabulary, but certainly in detail. Water flows over rocks in both groves: *defluit incerto lapidosus murmure rivus* (3.273, of Egeria's grove); *manabat saxo vena perennis aquae* (298, of Picus and Faunus'). Just as the Arician grove is shady (*silva praecinctus opaca* [264]), so too is the one on the Aventine (*lucus Aventino suberat niger ilicis umbra* [295]). We noted above how the Alexandrian and Roman tradition developed a correlation based on the Hesiodic template between the scenes of poetic inspiration or initiation and this sort of bucolic *locus amoenus*, just the place for shepherds to cool off in the heat of the day, water their flocks, nap, and perhaps sing a song or two. In both Homer and Vergil, Proteus uses a seaside cave for this same purpose, and is explicitly compared to a shepherd as he does so. Both texts make a point of placing the ambush and binding of the sea-god at midday, as this is the time when such a bucolic refuge is customarily used (*Od.* 4.400–406, 413; *Geo.* 4.395, 401–4). Although the time of Picus and Faunus' ambush is not specified, these gods of the woodlands come to relieve their thirst (3.303–4), and we might assume the time is likewise midday.

The setting of the binding of Picus and Faunus, and the scene itself as a type, then, have affinities to earlier passages clearly con-

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now embodied in Gallus" (*Vergil's Eclogues* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994], 177). The closing lines of the god's 'poem' even include a poetic initiation of Gallus to complement Vergil's own conversation with Apollo in the first lines. On the programmatic and poetic issues of Vergil's later use of the binding topos in the *Georgics* see R. Thomas, ed. and comm., *Georgics*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) vol. 1, 14–15, vol. 2, 201–39. R. J. Littlewood, "*Imperii pignora certa*: The Role of Numa in Ovid's *Fasti*," 175–97 in *Ovid's* Fasti: *Historical Readings at its Bimillenium*, ed. G. Herbert-Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 182–88 argues for the preeminence of the *Georgics* passage as a model here.

cerned with poetic production, its effectiveness and its style. But what is the 'song' that Picus and Faunus actually produce? Numa asks the gods how to expiate the recent spate of lightning strikes (311). Their answer, however, does not match his request:

> *'magna petis, nec quae monitu tibi discere nostro*
> *fas sit: habent fines numina nostra suos.*
> *di sumus agrestes et qui dominemur in altis*
> *montibus; arbitrium est in sua tecta Iovi.*
> *hunc tu non poteris per te deducere caelo,*
> *at poteris nostra forsitan usus ope.'*
> *dixerat haec Faunus; par est sententia Pici.*
> *'deme tamen nobis vincula', Picus ait,*
> *'Iuppiter huc veniet, valida perductus ab arte:*
> *nubila promissi Styx mihi testis erit.'*
>
> ['You're asking great things, and it's not right for you to learn them by our instruction: our divine powers have their limits. We are country gods who hold sway in the high mountains; in his realm, judgment belongs to Jupiter. You couldn't lead him down from the sky by yourself, but perhaps with our help, you could.' Faunus had spoken; Picus' opinion was the same. 'But take these fetters off of us,' Picus said; 'Jupiter will come here, led by a powerful art: the gloomy Styx will be witness to my promise.']
>
> (3.313–22)

Picus and Faunus refuse to sing the song requested by Numa, a song about the weapons of Jupiter, claiming that it is beyond their power to do so; that is to say, they deliver a classic *recusatio* of big themes (*magna petis*). Augustan *recusationes*, as a rule, also include an offer of an alternative sort of poetry or speech, and this one is no exception: the gods offer a charm (*carmina* [323]) to evoke Jupiter Elicius. In line 317 Ovid once again uses the verb *deducere*, whose Alexandrian connotations were discussed above, to describe the action of 'drawing down' Jupiter. For Picus and Faunus, then, the alternative to the *magna* requested by Numa is not a *carmen deductum*, but a *carmen deducens*! The passage gives Callimachus' refusal of Zeus and his thundering (*Aet.* 1.19–20) a clever twist: this Jupiter, *deductus* and disarmed,[42] can find a place in Ovid's (and Picus and Faunus', and Numa's) elegiac song. The Alexandrian emphasis on τέχνη/*ars* is reflected here as well, as the force and efficacy of the charm is expressed in precisely those terms: *Iuppiter huc veniet, valida perductus*

[42] Cf. Hinds, "*Arma*—Part 2," 120.

ab arte (3.314) and, again, *quaque trahant superis sedibus arte Iovem* (324). That these aesthetic concerns are applicable to Numa as well is indicated by the gods' inclusion of the king in the act of 'leading down' Jupiter: they will not do it for him; rather, he will do it with their aid (317–18).

The bound gods' concern to say only what is *fas* (313–14) is likewise a concern Picus and Faunus share with both Numa and the poet of the *Fasti*. The issue arises in the poem with a frequency that D. Feeney has connected to the poem's choice of *materia*: the *fasti* began as a division of days on which certain kinds of speech were permitted (*dies fasti*) and days they were not (*dies nefasti*) and thus served as an appropriate rubric for exploring constraints on speech and its occasions.[43] A typical example interrupts Ovid's narrative of this scene, since it is *nefas* to report the charm itself:

> *emissi laqueis quid agant, quae carmina dicant,*
> *quaque trahant superis sedibus arte Iovem*
> *scire nefas homini. nobis concessa canentur*
> *quaeque pio dici vatis ab ore licet.*
>
> [What they do when released from the snares, what spells they speak, and by what art they draw Jupiter from his lofty abode, it is wrong for a mortal to know. I'll sing only what is allowed to us and what may be spoken by a poet's pious mouth.]
>
> (3.323–26)

Ovid here positions himself as a *vates*, connecting this concern for correct speech with the piety of the poet-priest. The vatic pose also intimates, however, knowledge left unspoken: the special claim the *vates* lays to divinely inspired truth leaves him in the precarious position of knowing more than he ought to say.[44] Similar concerns are expressed by Numa as he asks Jupiter Elicius for a means of expiating lightning: he only wants his request to be granted if it is asked with a "pious tongue" (*si pia lingua rogat* [336]). The parallel to *pio . . . ab ore* in 326 underlines the similarity between Numa's difficult and (if it turns out that the material is, in fact, *nefas*) dangerous enterprise and that of the poet—the articulation of rites through language, and the negotiation of power over those rites with a god.

In Numa's interview with Jupiter Elicius the god and the king play a word game whereby Jupiter's request for a human sacrifice

[43] Feeney, *"Si licet et fas est,"* esp. 12–13. Cf. *Fasti* 1.47–48.
[44] On the vatic pose in the *Fasti* generally, Pasco-Pranger, "*Vates operosus.*"

is revised to an expiatory offering of an onion, human hair, and a sardine. Ovid's version runs as follows:

adnuit oranti, sed verum ambage remota
abdidit et dubio terruit ore virum.
'caede caput' dixit; cui rex 'parebimus' inquit;
'caedenda est hortis eruta cepa meis.'
addidit hic 'hominis'; 'sumes' ait ille 'capillos.'
postulat hic animam; cui Numa 'piscis' ait.
risit, et 'his' inquit 'facito mea tela procures,
o vir conloquio non abigende deum.'

[[Jupiter] granted his prayer, but hid the truth with obscure double-talk and terrified the man with ambiguous speech: 'Cut off a head,' he said; the king answered him, 'We will obey; an onion head dug from my garden must be cut.' 'A man's,' the first added; 'You will receive,' said the other, 'his hair.' He asks for a soul; 'Of a fish,' Numa says. He laughed and said, 'With these, see to it that you expiate my weapons, O man not to be put off from conversing with the gods.'] (3.337–44)

Both J. Bayet and G. Dumézil have emphasized the juridical nature of this word play, in which it is Jupiter's incautious use of language that allows Numa to best the god. Bayet, however, points to the defiance at the base of the story, while Dumézil sees the scene as "a test whereby the god makes sure that the king understands the importance of vocabulary and syntax."[45] Jupiter's approval of Numa's sacrificial substitutes indicates not just an admission of defeat, but an expression of admiration for Numa's skillful manipulation of forms. Ovid's version lends itself more to Dumézil's reading than to Bayet's in large part because of the lines that introduce the exchange. Jupiter agrees to Numa's request before the contest begins, but "hides the truth" by speaking ambiguously. This can only mean that Jupiter *intends* for Numa to re-interpret his words; the truth is that he does not want a human sacrifice at all. The word game amounts to a display of Numa's ability to manipulate language, by sound-play (*caput/cepa/capilli*), syntax-play (i.e., rather than taking *hominis* with *caput*, Numa supplies a new noun for the genitive to modify, *capillos*),

[45] Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 40–41, 123; J. Bayet, *Histoire politique et psychologique de la religion romaine*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Payot, 1969), 142. See also F. Ahl, *Metaformations: Soundplay and Wordplay in Ovid and Other Classical Poets* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 300–301; Porte, *Etiologie Religieuse*, 131–32. Ovid's presentation of the word-play itself is very close to Val. Ant. *hist.* fr. 6 and Plut. *Num.* 15.

and even anagrams (the original play with *anima*, as preserved in Valerius, involved the name of a fish, *maena/maina*, an anagrammatic permutation of the word *anima*; cf. 2.578). The parallel to the strategies of poetic production and interpretation, and to the *Fasti*'s own etymologizing approach to religious rites is striking.[46] Jupiter's laugh at the end of the game signals his approval of Numa's poetic use of language,[47] and his gift of the *ancile* offers a guarantee of the success of Numa's other *opus*, the city (*imperii pignora certa* [3.346]).

Numa, then, the man to whom tradition attributes the pre-Julian calendar, is, perhaps even more than Romulus and the Caesars, an internal model for the poet of the calendar poem. This pattern of assimilation between the actions of the calendar- and city-builders and poetic production, particularly the *Fasti*'s own production, begins to suggest that Ovid sees his calendrical model as something more than a mere source or a framework around which to work. In some sense, the calendar itself qualifies in Ovid's eyes as a poetic work, indeed, as a crucial intertext for his *Fasti*. When the poet promises to sing *tempora . . . digesta per annis*, he chooses to engage with the calendar as a representation of the year, constructed by a set of political *duces*, but also as a literary text to be read and reread as he writes his own treatment of the same material.

Reading the calendar

That Ovid's poem on *tempora* is not a calendar *per se* is declared in the poem's first words: this treatment of "times" will come along with "causes" (*tempora cum causis*). Explanations of the events of the calendar, their origins, or their meanings are not part of the basic structure of the epigraphical calendars. While much attention has recently been paid to the substantial degree of variability in the extant epigraphical *fasti*, it is worth noting what is not variable. The formal conservatism of Roman culture results in a basic model of organization and mode of presentation that is shared by all the extant

[46] Cf. Hinds, "*Arma*—Part 2," 120: "a display of quintessentially *Fasti*-like religious learning, ending with a contest in the art of sacred etymology against the king of the gods himself."

[47] For the laugh as a sign of both poetic challenge and poetic approval, cf. Theoc. 7.20, 42 and 128 and *Fasti* 4, where Venus' laughing approval (4.5) allows Ovid's *coeptum . . . opus* (4.16) to continue.

epigraphical *fasti*, though spread out over some five centuries (see Plate 1). The names of the twelve months top a row of vertical columns, sometimes separated by a line or score, with each month occupying a single column. The months read from left to right, January through December, with the *Fasti Antiates Maiores*, our sole example of a pre-Julian calendar, appending a column for the intercalary month to the right of December. Within each month-column, sub-columns give information about the individual days: the nundinal cycle, a recurring series of the letters A through H, is used to keep track of market days; the kalends, nones and ides of each month are marked and the days between them are often numbered to count down to these 'dividing days'; abbreviations (most commonly F, N, NP, or C) mark the religious and civil character of the days, indicating the activities that were permissible on any given day; and finally, the names of festivals, games, *dies natales* of temples, etc. which occurred on each day are listed. It is in this last element that the most variation is possible, but even here, all the calendars include a set of forty-five named festivals that always appear in large letters.[48] In rare cases, the calendars include brief commentary on the significance of the event: the wide variation in this sort of information, and its complete absence in the majority of the epigraphical *fasti* suggest that it is a non-canonical part of the calendar, an elaboration of the structure rather than a basic element, and thus, we might think, not part of Ovid's calendrical intertext.

On the one hand, the addition of *causae* to Ovid's program of *tempora* clearly evokes Callimachus' poem *On Causes*, the *Aetia*, and, as we saw in the introduction, the two poems are richly and complexly related. The phrase *tempora cum causis* might thus be read to refer succinctly to the material (the calendar) and the mode (aetiological elegy) of the poem. Recent scholarship on Roman religion suggests, however, that the elaboration of the *causae* of calendrical material has a much closer relation to the calendar itself than we might expect and indeed that the exegesis that shows up occasionally in the calendars and more often outside of it must be considered an integral part of the functioning calendar.[49] The graphic and literate form of

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[48] See the *fasti* in Degrassi, *Inscr It.* 13.2; discussions in Gordon, "Republic to Principate," 184–86, Michels, *Calendar*, 22–30.

[49] King, "Spatial Form," 5–11; Gordon, "Republic to Principate," 184–88; Beard, "Complex" *passim* and "Writing and Religion: *Ancient Literacy* and the function of

the *fasti*, by presenting a large amount of information, categorizing it, organizing it, and representing it as a coherent whole, encourages connections and observations that would be difficult if not impossible to make as one experienced the year on a day-to-day, linear basis. No single individual would have been present at all of the rites, attended the markets, and taken part in the assemblies or legal actions prescribed or allowed by any given day, let alone by all the days of the year. Only by viewing the calendar as a system would certain connections and patterns become clear or actually come into being. So, for example, the calendrical coincidence of the festival of the Quinquatrus and a temple dedication to Minerva on March 19 seems to have brought about an association between the two, and possibly to have encouraged the extension of the festival's games over a five-day period by the Augustan age. This extension then allows Ovid to connect the Tubilustrium celebrated on March 23 to both the Quinquatrus and Minerva (*Fast.* 3.809–14).[50] At other times, the larger structure of the calendar, rather than the particularities of its details, either prompts questions, or supplies answers to them. In the proem to Book 4, for example, the *Fasti* represents the contiguous arrangement of the months of March and April as a major reason to believe that the disputed month of April belongs to Venus: *Venus . . . / utque solet, Marti continuata suo est* [Venus, as usual, is next to her Mars] (4.129–30)—after all, the same physical arrangement is to be found in statuary, most famously in the pediment of Augustus' temple of Mars Ultor,[51] and in poetic mythology, from Homer on (*Od.* 8.266 ff.). If Romulus dedicated the first month to his father, and then placed another month (and another god) next to Mars, who else but Venus must own that month? It is the physical proximity of the two months in the graphic form that suggests

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the written word in Roman religion," In *Literacy in the Roman World*, ed. J. H. Humphrey (Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1991), 35–58, esp. 54–56. Scheid, "Myth, Cult and Reality" emphasizes that the calendar was in some sense exegetical from the start, always a supplement to the ritual pronouncement of rites to be undertaken made by the *rex sacrorum* each month. The work of these scholars and others is nicely synthesized in Feeney, *Literature and Religion*, 123–32.

[50] M. Pasco-Pranger, "Added Days: Calendrical Poetics and the Julio-Claudian Holidays," in *Ovid's* Fasti*: Historical Readings at its Bimillenium*, ed. G. Herbert-Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 251–74, 253.

[51] Also in the contiguous Julian and Augustan *fora* with their central temples of Venus Genetrix and Mars Ultor, respectively; see Zanker, *Power of Images*, 195–201. Cf. also Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 81–82.

that Romulus put the goddess 'next to' her lover and her companion in the divine parentage of the Roman state. If the month of April were *continuatus* to January instead, or to October, would the same explanation have arisen? If the calendar were not inscribed in a visual and often monumental[52] medium, whose affinities with sculptural representations of the gods were clear, would the same explanation have arisen? As M. Beard has made clear in her influential study of the exegesis surrounding the Parilia, Romans' active engagement with their calendar, questioning it, reinterpreting it, connecting it to other cultural discourses, is what made the calendar continue to work as a vital symbolic discourse for several hundred years, adapting to substantial shifts Roman culture.[53]

Ovid's engagement with the calendar, then, is not just with its contents but with its structure, its way of presenting content and building meanings. As we shall see, the *Fasti*, with its careful collocation of month and book, its correlation between progress through the year and didactic progression from topic to topic, is closely and self-consciously mimetic of structural and organizational features of the calendar.[54] Ovid's explanation of the year, his attempt to build meaning from the various rites, both old and new, that his calendrical *duces* have placed in the calendar is deeply entwined with, and indeed guided by, the calendrical structure. Nonetheless (and here we let the generic weight of *causae* reassert itself) the *Fasti* is not a calendar; it is an elegiac poem and a didactic one and as such it participates in and makes use of the modes of constructing meaning and reducing the world to the intelligible implicit in those genres.

[52] The absence of extant pre-Julian calendars inscribed in stone has been used to argue for a Julio-Claudian monumentalizing of the calendar in connection with its new chronographic stability: Sansone, "The *Fasti* of Ovid," 48; cf. Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit*, 417–25.

[53] Beard, "Complex".

[54] On the *Fasti*'s didactic structure as mimetic: A. Schiesaro, "The Palingenesis of *De Rerum Natura*," *PCPS* 40 (1994): 81–107. Schiesaro reads the *Fasti* as likely influenced by Lucretius' choice to deal with the vastness and inclusivity of his topic by using a didactic structure which imitates the Epicurean conception of the structure of the universe, thereby teaching by exemplum and representation, rather than by categorization and instruction. He suggests that, like the *D.R.N.*, Ovid's *Fasti* "takes up itself the structure and rhythm of its object of study" (97). That the use of mimetic structure in a didactic poem is unusual is suggested both my observations below on conventional didactic structuring, and by Aristotle's exclusion of didactic writings in poetic meters from the realm of poetry, on the grounds that they are not mimetic (Arist. *Po.* 1447b). This issue in the *Fasti* has now been explored more thoroughly in Volk, "*Cum carmine.*"

By forcing the structures of poetry and of the calendar into dialogue, Ovid effects a complex reading of the ways in which the calendar organizes the world.

Alter ut hic mensis, sic liber alter eat

The most obvious sign of Ovid's composition of the *Fasti* with the calendar-builders as his *duces*, and thus with the calendar as structural model, is the identification within the poem of month and book. The etymology (or etymologies) of the month's name which leads off each of the books consistently marks this identification,[55] but other unmistakable signs also underline the poem's structural plan. The first transition between books gives the most attention to the nature of the boundary it constructs, setting the pattern for the remainder of the year:

> *Sed iam prima mei pars est exacta laboris,*
> *cumque suo finem mense libellus habet.*
>
> [But now the first part of my job is done and the book has an end along with the month.]
>
> (1.723–24, the final lines of the book)

> *Ianus habet finem. cum carmine crescit et annus:*
> *alter ut hic mensis, sic liber alter eat.*
>
> [Janus has an end. The year grows along with the poem: as this next month goes, thus let the next book go.]
>
> (2.1–2)

The principle of division of the two books could not be more explicit: the year and the song grow together, and the months and the books will share a *finis*, both an end and a boundary.[56] Some of the other transitions between months/books are not quite so clearly signaled as this first—once the pattern is established, clarity can be sacrificed to elegance—but they are emphasized nonetheless. In the final lines of Book 2, Mars appears 'looking forward' to his own month on the horizon; Ovid describes the closing of the month/book (*libro cum mense peracto*) as a ship putting into port, and the month/book ahead

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[55] 1.63–288; 2.19–46; 3.1–4; 4.4–132; 5.1–110; 6.1–100.

[56] Cf. Ovid's problematic description of the work in the *Tristia*: *sex ego Fastorum scripsi totidemque libellos/cumque suo finem mense volumen habet* (*Tr.* 2.549–50).

as another sea to be sailed (*alia . . . aqua*) (2.857–64). The end of Book 3 takes advantage of Luna's relationship to the originally lunar months and a temple dedicated to the goddess on March 31 to mark the boundary: *Luna regit menses: huius quoque tempora mensis/finit Aventino Luna colenda iugo* [Luna rules the months: for this month, Luna also limits the time, demanding worship on the Aventine ridge] (3.883–84). Book 4 even marks its place in the sequence of months and books as the poet tells Venus, *venimus ad quartum, quo tu celeberrima mense* [We have come to the fourth month, in which you are most celebrated] (4.13). At the end of that book, the poet defers the goddess Flora to the kalends of May (4.947–48) again pointing to the coming transition between books. Book 6 begins by drawing a parallel to, and thereby also a dividing line from, the month that preceded it: *Hic quoque mensis . . .* [This month also . . .]. The close of Book 6, as befits the end (or the midpoint) of a poem, is given an extensive build-up. The introductory lines of the section on Fortuna Fortis refer gnomically to the swift passage of time, but simultaneously point to the passage of the year and the book thus far: *Tempora labuntur, tacitisque senescimus annis,/et fugiunt freno non remorante dies* [Time slips past, and we grow old through silent years, and the days escape with no rein slowing them] (6.771–72). As with many uses of the word in the *Fasti*, *tempora* can be read here as an alternate title for the book as a whole, echoing the first word of the poem; *annis* and *dies* likewise are emblematic of the poem's contents, and point toward closure.[57] Line 795 gives the date of the *dies natalis* of the temple of Quirinus by referring to the number of days remaining in the month, again signaling the break that will come several lines later. Finally, the last day's entry teasingly repeats the pattern we have seen before at the ends of Books 2, 3, and 4, pointing ahead to the beginning of the next month and the next book: *Tempus Iuleis cras est natale Kalendis:/ Pierides, coeptis addite summa meis* [Tomorrow is the birthday of July's kalends: Muses put the final touches on my undertaking] (797–98). "Tomorrow" never comes, of course, and the poem tempts us to read *summa*, "the final touches," as a signal of completion.[58]

The *Fasti*'s extreme explicitness about its own book-oriented structure is typical of didactic poetry, which divides its topic into headings

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[57] Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 204–5; Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 263.

[58] Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 233; Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 266. Cf. also Barchiesi's discussion of the endings of the *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses* in "Endgames."

and sub-headings, and announces when one topic is finished and another begun.[59] Book divisions coincide with the major divisions of the topic as laid out by the poet. The didactic works of Vergil and Ovid himself can stand as exemplars. The *Georgics* lists the topics of its four books in the first five lines of the poem: crops and plowing, trees and vines, herding, and bees. As with the *Fasti*, we see the most explicitly marked transition between the first two books, where the pattern is set for the remainder:

> *Hactenus arvorum cultus et sidera caeli:*
> *nunc te, Bacche, canam, nec non silvestria tecum*
> *virgulta et prolem tarde crescentis olivae.*
>
> [Thus far I have sung the cultivation of the fields and the stars of the sky; now I will sing you, Bacchus, and along with you the woodland thickets and the fruit of the slow-growing olive.]
>
> (2.1–3)

At the end of Book 2 of the *Georgics*, the poet metaphorically "unyokes his horses," marking the break between books as well as the halfway point of the poem. Book 3 begins anew with an announcement of the book's topic, the care of the flocks: *Te quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande canemus/pastor ab Amphryso, vos silvae amnesque Lycaei* [You too we will sing, great Pales, and you, unforgettable shepherd of the Amphrysus [Apollo Nomius], and you, thickets and rivers of Lycaeus] (3.1–2). This prominent placement of the book's topic in the first line has its parallel in the explanation of the month's name at the start of each book of the *Fasti*. The word *quoque* succinctly refers back to what has come before (cf. *Fast.* 6.1). The first lines of *Georgics* 4 marks its place in the sequence (*Protinus* . . . [Continuing forward . . .] [4.1]), and as a part of the whole poem (*hanc etiam, Maecenas, aspice partem* [Pay attention to this part too, Maecenas . . .] [4.2]). Finally, the epilogue to the poem reiterates the topic of the first three books (4.559–60), strangely leaving out the fourth book, at the end of which it stands.

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[59] My conception of didactic poetry draws primarily on B. Effe, *Dichtung und Lehre: Untersuchungen zur Typologie des antiken Lehrgedichts* (Munich: Beck, 1977), esp. 22–26; E. Pöhlmann, "Charakteristika des römischen Lehrgedichts," *ANRW* 1.3.3 (1973): 813–901; and K. Volk, *The Poetics of Latin Didactic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). I do not mean to enter into the controversy over ancient conceptions of didactic poetry (see Volk, *Latin Didactic*, 26–34; Myers, *Ovid's Causes*, 19 n. 65 and bibliography there), but only to observe that the *Fasti* uses a didactic model to draw a relationship between poetic structures and calendrical ones.

Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* is also very explicit in setting up the structure of its three books, but then plays against the reader's expectations concerning that structure:[60]

> *Principio, quod amare velis, reperire labora,*
> *Qui nova nunc primum miles in arma venis.*
> *Proximus huic labor est placitam exorare puellam:*
> *Tertius, ut longo tempore duret amor.*
> *Hic modus, haec nostro signabitur area curru:*
> *haec erit admissa meta terenda rota.*
>
> [First, work to find something you want to love, you who now for the first time serve as soldier in new arms. The next job is to win over the girl you have decided on; third, to make sure your love lasts a long time. This limit, this field, will by marked off by my chariot; this goal my wheel must scrape past at full speed.]
>
> (1.35–40)

There would seem no doubt that these lines lay out the topics of the three books of the *Ars*. Less than halfway through Book 1, however, the *praeceptor amoris* makes his transition from his first to his second topic, using exactly the same structure Vergil had between *Georgics* 1 and 2: *Hactenus* . . . *nunc* . . . [Thus far . . . now . . .] (1.263–66). At the end of Book 1, the poet is explicit about the transition between didactic sections (*Pars superat coepti, pars est exhausta laboris* [Part of the job I've started remains, part has been fully discussed] [1.772]), and metaphorically throws out an anchor, the nautical equivalent of the unyoked horses at the end of *Georgics* 2. The beginning of Book 2 refers back to the contents of Book 1, the art of capturing of a girl, and ahead to its own topic, the art of holding on to her: *Arte mea capta est, arte tenenda mea est* [She has been caught by my art, she must be kept by my art] (2.12). The end of Book 2 plays with our expectations of completion by declaring, *Finis adest operi* [An end to the work is at hand] (2.733), and providing an appropriate epigrammatic closing (2.743–44), but then reopens the issue when "the girls" ask for instruction too. The poet promises them the next book (745–46) which opens with one hundred lines whose point is, "I've given arms to men, now to women!" Book 3 ends by referring back to the whole poem, and to the trick ending of Book 2:

[60] A. Sharrock, *Seduction and Repetition in Ovid's* Ars Amatoria *2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 16–20.

Lusus habet finem: cygnis descendere tempus,
Duxerunt collo qui iuga nostra suo.
Ut quondam iuvenes, ita nunc, mea turba, puellae
Inscribant spoliis "NASO MAGISTER ERAT." [cf. 2.744]

[The game has its end: it is time to step down from the swans who have drawn my chariot with their necks. Just as once the young men did, now let my crowd, the girls, inscribe, "Naso was my teacher," on their spoils.]

(3.809–12)

Even in its play with the reader's expectations for didactic structure and book divisions, the *Ars Amatoria* confirms those expectations and conventions.

In general, then, the *Fasti*'s way of treating its book divisions is clearly in the tradition of didactic poetics. It explicitly marks its books' boundaries, implying the importance of those boundaries for organizing the information to be presented, while acknowledging each book's place in a larger framework. While, in this sense, the didactic model is clearly active, the organization of the material within the books is less clearly designed for didactic efficacy. One of the defining characteristics of ancient didactic is a treatment of the material systematically according to an inherent structure. For the most part, this entails categorical divisions and sub-divisions of the subject, expressly articulated in the poem: in the *Georgics*, we are given four divisions of farming, according to what is farmed; in the *Ars Amatoria*, the male reader is instructed in the three stages of a love affair (finding a girl, wooing her, and making the affair last) in Books 1 and 2, and then women are taught in the third book. Other examples are easily found.[61] By contrast to these more typical didactic arrangements, the *Fasti*'s purely temporal division of material is

[61] Aratus' *Phaenomena*, though not divided into books, is meticulously organized by categories of phenomena and within each category by celestial topography. Lucretius treats "the beginnings of things" in Book 1 (55–61), atomic motion in Book 2 (62–66), mind and spirit in Book 3 (31–40, with a recap of the subjects of the first two books), the cause of images in Book 4 (26–44, again with a reiteration of the subject of Book 3), the mortality of the world in Book 5 (64–90), and the causes of celestial phenomena in Book 6 (43–67). Nicander's *Theriaca* gives precautions against noxious animals (8–114); teaches to recognize poisonous snakes and reptiles (115–492); teaches remedies for the bites of snakes and reptiles (493–714); teaches to recognize poisonous spiders and insects (715–836); and finally teaches remedies for the bites of spiders and insects (837–956).

striking. While the narrator of the *Fasti* uses traditional didactic phrasing to articulate his material,[62] the premise of the poem implies that, rather than following a logical progression of thought, or being in some way 'naturally' organized into categories of material, the poem's smaller sections fit into one book or another purely by virtue of their connection to one day or another in the course of the year. This organization and its apparent jumble of unrelated material was long blamed for a perceived failure of the poem to achieve the ever-elusive unity deemed necessary for a successful poetic work.[63]

Other structures are conceivable for a poem on Roman *tempora*: we might have had a single book on month names,[64] another on the *dies natales* of temples, another on the large-letter festivals, etc. Compare, for example, the didactic structure of Varro's book on *tempora, De Lingua Latina* 6, so described in *L.L.* 5.184 and 6.1. Book 6 as a whole is divided into two parts, the first on the Roman names for times and the second on things done in time (i.e., verbs). Of these two sections, the first contains much the same information as Ovid's *Fasti*, but with a very different division of information:

I. "Natural divisions" (*naturale discrimen*, 6.12)
   A. day and parts of the day, defined by rising and setting of sun (4–7)
   B. seasons and year, defined by motion of the sun (8–9)
   C. month, defined by motion of the moon (10)
   D. periods of multiple years (11)

II. "Civil names" (*civilia vocabula*, 6.12)
   A. names of the days (12–32)
      1. instituted for the sake of the gods (12–26)
         a. festal days, organized by month (12–24)
         b. non-fixed festivals (25–26)

[62] E. Rutledge, "The Style and Composition of Ovid's *Fasti*" (diss. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1973), 28, n. 19; Miller, "Hellenistic Didactic," 11; "Divine Interlocutors," 166; Volk, "*Cum carmine.*"

[63] See Introduction.

[64] Simias of Rhodes' Μῆνες (H. Fränkel, "De Simia Rhodio" [diss. inaug. Göttingen, 1915], 40–41) and Callimachus' Μηνῶν προσηγορίαι κατὰ ἔθνος καὶ πόλεις (Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, vol. I, 339) may have been books of this sort. Cf. Santini, "Motivi astronomici," 8, n. 7.

2. instituted for the sake of men (27–32)
    a. dividing days (27–28)
    b. characters of the days (29–32)

B. names of months (33–34)

Varro's structure matches the common didactic practice of categorization as a forerunner to explication in that the divisions of the didactic subject are clearly meaningful for the interpretation of the *materia.* If Ovid chose instead to use the divisions of the year into months as book divisions, are we to think of the months as real categories of thought, divisions of the year that do more than simply name a time period? A comparison of the *Fasti*'s representations of months with the epigraphical calendars' representations of the same 'category' suggests some answers.

The *Fasti*'s extreme explicitness about its division of the poem into books that are mimetic of months has its equivalent in the graphically separate spaces given to each month in the inscribed calendars. Rather than listing the days of the year continuously, the epigraphical *fasti* mark the boundary between months by starting a new column; months with fewer days are generally written slightly larger, or with slightly more space between lines, in order to fill the full space of the column.[65] The effect of this convention is to make each month, despite a variation of several days in their lengths, an equivalent visual unit; the nones and ides of every month line up along the horizontal axis of the calendar and all the months finish at the bottom of the column. The columns are sometimes marked off from one another by a surrounding border or by a sub-column colored in red,[66] and always by the recurrence of a continuous column of large letters (the nundinal letters, and those marking the characters of the days). The occurrence in the calendars of an abbreviation of the month name on the first day of the month (e.g., KAL OCT or K OCT), that is at the top of the column, and nowhere else in the month, marks that column as a unit under the heading of the month name. Often the number of days in the month is placed at the bottom of the column, as if to 'sum up' its contents.[67]

[65] E.g., *Fasti Antiates Maiores, Fasti Caeretani, Fasti Cyprenses, Fasti Maffeiani, Fasti Magistrorum Vici, Fasti Verulani* (see plates in Degrassi, *Inscr. It* 13.2).

[66] E.g., *Fasti Antiates Maiores, Fasti Platea Manfredo Fanti.*

[67] E.g., *Fasti Antiates Maiores, Fasti Caeretani, Fasti Pinciani, Fasti Esquilini, Fasti Magistrorum Vici, Fasti Praenestini, Fasti Verulani, Fasti Vaticani.*

The *Fasti*'s treatment of the month name in the proem of the book (in Books 3–6) or just after (Books 1–2) corresponds to the naming of the month on the kalends in the graphic calendars, so that the month name in both didactic book and graphic calendar stands as an organizing *titulus* for the material that falls within the month.[68] The equivalence of these two representational strategies is confirmed by a tradition in which epigraphical calendars use both at once, inscribing an etymology of the month name in the entry for the kalends. Though the preserved example, the *Fasti Praenestini*, might be argued to be exceptional, based as it is on a longer prose work of Verrius Flaccus, Varro indicates that Fulvius Nobilior also treated the month names in his wall calendar in the Temple of the Muses.[69]

The early history of the calendar gives us further cause to think that the month had somewhat more significance for the Romans as a structure for organizing the events that fell within it than it has for us.[70] J. Scheid has argued that the written calendars were essentially secondary to the oral announcement of each month's festal days, a custom which he argues continued at least until the first century B.C.E.[71] On the kalends the *rex sacrorum* publicly announced whether the nones would be five or seven days thence—originally the choice would have depended upon the size of the crescent moon upon first sighting; this effectively set the date of the ides as well, as it always fell nine days after the nones. On the nones, then, the populace would gather to hear an announcement of the festivals and duties to be accomplished in that month. Even if it continued only in vestigial form, the preservation of an oral calendrical tradition more than two centuries after the publication of a full calendar by

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[68] Cf. 4.115–16, where the poet asks who would dare despoil Venus of the *titulum mensis secundi*, and 6.77–78: *quid grave, si titulum mensis, Romane, dedisti/Herculis uxori?* Venus is also the *propositum* of the book (4.8), another word for didactic divisions of topic: Columella uses both terms in his preface (9. pr.).

[69] *L.L.* 6.33.

[70] By contrast, the week is arguably the most important calendrical structure in our lives, separating work days from days of relaxation, facilitating the scheduling of meetings, classes, etc. Many holidays, even secular ones, depend in part on the weekly structure of the year for their placement (e.g., American Thanksgiving falls on the third Thursday in November). Everyone knows when it is Monday, but the passing of the first of the month is easily forgotten. Cf. Zerubavel, *Hidden Rhythms*, 9–11, 26–30.

[71] Scheid, "Myth, Cult and Reality," 119–20. The evidence for the nature and continuation of the announcement is Var. *L.L.* 6.27–8, Macr. 1.15.9–13.

Cn. Flavius in 304 B.C.E.[72] indicates that these announcements served some actualizing or activating function. In terms of structure, this oral institution, like the written one which inscribed and eventually supplanted it, encouraged the celebrant to think of the month as the basic unit of the year, and to see its festivals as belonging to a distinct set.[73]

This conception of the month also has its expression in later poetic and visual traditions. The *Anthologia Latina* preserves seven short poems treating the names of the months and their characters (117, 394, 395, 490a, 639, 665, 874a Riese). Of these, poem 639, a set of monostichs on the months, also appears as Eclogue 9 in the corpus of the fourth-century poet Ausonius, whose Eclogue 10 contains distichs on the same theme. Three more such poems appear in the Palatine Anthology (383, 384, 580).[74] A look at Ausonius' shorter poem gives a sense of the tradition:

Primus Romanas ordiris, Iane, kalendas.
Februa vicino mense Numa instituit.
Martius antiqui primordia protulit anni.
fetiferum Aprilem vindicat alma Venus.
maiorum dictus patrum de nomine Maius.
Iunius aetatis proximus est titulo.
nomine Caesareo Quintilem Iulius auget.
Augustus nomen Caesareum sequitur.
autumnum, Pomona, tuum September opimat.
triticeo October faenore ditat agros.
sidera praecipitas pelago, intempeste November.
tu genialem hiemem, feste December, agis.

[You first start off the Roman kalends, Janus. Numa instituted the Februa in the neighboring month. The month of Mars offered the starting point of the old year. Nourishing Venus lays claim to fertile April. May was named for the 'older' (*maiorum*) fathers. The next is June, from the title of the ['junior'] age. July augments the month of *Quintilis* with the name of Caesar. August follows the name of Caesar. September

[72] There was likely a written calendar prior to this date as well. It is clear that the primary significance of Flavius' calendar was the inclusion of the characters of each day, thereby making predictable the schedule on which various sorts of business might be conducted. Earlier calendars may have carried only the dates of festivals (Michels, *Calendar*, 106–30; Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit*, 245–74).

[73] Cf. Rüpke's summary argument for the importance of the monthly structure in organizing Roman religious time: *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit*, 548–62.

[74] E. Courtney, "The Roman Months in Art and Literature," *MH* 45 (1988): 33–57.

> makes your autumn fruitful, Pomona. October enriches the fields with wheat's profit. You throw the stars headlong into the sea, dismal November. You bring about merry winter, festive December.]

In these brief lines, Ausonius gives a very clear sense of the differing characters of the months, sometimes related to the name of the month (January is traced to Janus, the god of passages and beginnings, and is markedly initial in character; less obviously, Venus is *alma*, "nourishing", in the "fertile" month of April) and sometimes more purely seasonal (October is about the wheat harvest; November is about storms). "Festive December" is marked by the character of its most prominent festival, the Saturnalia. This condensation of the month's nature into a line or two is articulated visually in what seems to be a related tradition of mosaic and painted depictions of the months, representing them by a figure or figures engaged in some seasonal or ritual activity.[75] Four such representations, for example, show for April a figure dancing before an aedicula containing a statue of Venus, probably to be understood as a depiction of the April 1st festival of Venus Verticordia or (later) the Veneralia of the same date.[76]

The sense of the month not just as a measure of time but as a meaningful unit is thus evidenced both by its use as a didactic division in Ovid's poem, and also by active poetic and artistic traditions that continued into late antiquity. The impetus given this perception by the month's graphic representation in the calendars should not be underestimated. The visually separate space given to each month, the use of the month name as a *titulus* for each column, and the presentation of the twelve months in a year one could see at a glance, habituated the Romans to thinking of the month as a category.

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[75] Courtney, "Roman Months," makes clear the interpretive value of considering these two traditions in relation to one another. In the *Fasti Philocali*, a codex-calendar of 354 C.E., visual representations of the months are accompanied by both monostichs and distichs on their names and characters; for excellent discussion of this calendar's place in the tradition and in its social context, M. R. Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex-calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990).

[76] Courtney, "Roman Months," 44–45 and figures 1–4; Salzmann (*On Roman Time*, 83–91 and figures there) rejects this identification in the case, at least, of the illustration in the *Fasti Philocali*, arguing instead that the figure is a eunuch priest of Magna Mater dancing in front of a statue of Attis and thus represents Magna Mater's April festival, the Megalensia.

Calendrical order, month pairs, and meaning

If Ovid's use of the month as the major subdivision of his *materia* implies that the month means something as a didactic category, what does it mean? Didactic categories have two primary functions: they organize the material that falls under them, and they negotiate their relationship with other categories of the same level. Looking back at Varro's articulation of the structure of his book on *tempora*, we can see not only that the category of 'civil names' for times is defined against the 'natural' categories, but also that the order in which Varro treats the two is significant: *Dicemus primo de temporibus, tum quae per ea fiunt, sed ita ut ante de natura eorum: ea enim dux fuit ad vocabula imponenda homini* [We will speak first about time periods, then about things that happen through time periods, but in such a way that we speak first about their natures: for nature was man's guide in giving names to things] (*L.L.* 6.3). A brief look at both the calendar and the *Fasti*'s ways of defining the months in relation to one another will help us think about what the months mean as divisions of the year.

I have already touched on the significance of the order of the months in Chapter 1, as I discussed the *Fasti*'s representation of the calendar as a tool of ideology, a means of both describing and ordering the world. For Ovid's Romulus, for example, the assignation of the first month of the ten-month year to his father Mars meant a proclamation of his own origins, his 'beginning', an inscription of the Romans' military priorities, and an assurance of their military primacy (3.73–76, 79–80, 97–98); in three ways, then, Mars is *primus* for the Romans. At 3.135–48, Ovid points to the rites that take place in March as evidence that it is a month of beginnings: the honorific laurels around the doors of a variety of buildings are replaced; the *flamma Vestae* is restoked; and the old new year's festival of Anna Perenna is celebrated.[77] In other words, Ovid is reading not just the etymological meaning of the month-names but also the order of the months as significant, as a piece of the calendrical structure that carries social and political meaning. The relationship

[77] These details plus names of the numbered months (*Quintilis* through *December*) and the entrance of the consuls into office in March until 153 B.C.E. make the existence at some point of a year beginning in March indisputable; cf. Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit*, 193–97.

between the name of the month and the month itself, its contents, so to speak, is not arbitrary. It is significant that this particular month and its particular contents be labeled with this particular name and fall at this particular time of the year.

A rather odd example in which calendrical order again yields meaning clarifies the significance of this connection between the name of the month, its position in the year, and its contents. Early in his treatment of the month of February, Ovid explains that this was not always the second month:

> *Sed tamen, antiqui ne nescius ordinis erres,*
> *primus, ut est, Iani mensis et ante fuit;*
> *qui sequitur Ianum, veteris fuit ultimus anni:*
> *tu quoque sacrorum, Termine, finis eras.*
> *primus enim Iani mensis, quia ianua prima est:*
> *qui sacer est imis manibus, imus erat.*
> *postmodo creduntur spatio distantia longo*
> *tempora bis quini continuasse viri.*

> [But still, lest you err in your ignorance of the old order, just as Janus' month is first now, so it was even before; the one that follows Janus was the last of the old year: you, Terminus, used to mark an end of the festivals too. For Janus' month is foremost because a door is in the front; the one that is sacred to the shades and the last rites used to be last. Later on, the decemvirs are supposed to have joined times separated by a long span.]
>
> (2.47–54)

This passage is the *Fasti*'s only hint at knowledge of decemviral reforms to the calendar. The passage claims that (presumably since its creation by Numa) January has always been the first month of the year, but that February used to be the last month; the *decemviri* arranged the months in their current order by moving February from the end of the year to second place. No other ancient source preserves this tradition, and the passage is most plausibly explained as Ovid's misreading of a source indicating that March was once the first month of the year and January and February were the eleventh and twelfth.[78] The *Fasti* ignores this possibility throughout, assuming

[78] Michels, *Calendar*, 128–29; cf. F. Stok, "Ovidio e l'anno de dieci mesi," 57–89 in *L'Astronomia a Roma nell'età augustea*, ed. G. Congedo (Lecce: Università degli Studi di Lecce, 1989). Varro's treatment of the names of the two months may well be at the root of the error: *Ad hos [menses] qui additi, prior a principe deo Ianuarius appellatus; posterior, utidem dicunt scriptores, ab diis inferis Februarius appellatus* . . . (*L.L.* 6.34; cf. Festus, 75L.). Varro probably means by *prior* and *posterior* simply the first and the

elsewhere that, from the start, Numa added these two months to the beginning of Romulus' original ten (1.43–44). When confronted with a claim that February was once the final month of the year, Ovid's conception of January as a month of beginnings prevented his assimilating the possibility that January had ever been the eleventh month,[79] despite the fact that this conception of the old order of the months actually maintains the current order, when viewed as a cycle (i.e., even though January and February are the eleventh and twelfth months, March follows February). However, it was clearly *not* inconceivable to Ovid that February, as a unit, had been shifted from the final position, between December and January, to its present place in second position, between January and March. This 'history' of February's migration in fact explains its contents for Ovid: the Terminalia's festival of boundaries (*fines*) on February 23, and the festivals of the dead on February 21–22, are both explained by the nature of the month as one of "endings" (2.50, 52). Ovid's misunderstanding of his source demonstrates an underlying assumption that the month is the basic unit of the year, that the names of the months have a relationship to their contents, and that the order of the months means something, even if that order has been altered. Thus a 'correct' reading of a month's festivals can only be accomplished with an understanding of the nature of the month as a category and consideration of its place in the calendrical order.

Ovid's treatment of January and February also reads and defines their meanings particularly in relation to one another. We saw above that Ovid gives two different versions of the addition of January and February to the calendar: 1) they were prefixed to the existing year (1.43–44) or 2) January was added to the beginning, and February to the end (2.47–54). In either case, the two months are clearly seen as a complementary pair, dedicated respectively to beginnings (Janus and the new year celebrations) and ends (the dead and the god

second of the pair, but a passage like this could easily have prompted Ovid to place January before (*prior*) the other ten months and February after (*posterior*). Cf. W. Hübner, "Zur paarweisen Anordnung der Monate in Ovids Fasten," in *Ovid, Werk und Wirkung*, vol. 1, ed. W. Schubert (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999), 539–57, esp. 542–44.

[79] Tacitus reports that when the Senate decreed in 55 C.E. that the year should begin in December in honor of Nero's birth in that month, Nero declined because of an ancient religious scruple (*vetus religio*) about beginning the year on the kalends of January (*Ann.* 13.10).

Terminus), to *prima* and *ima* (2.51–52). Had Ovid supposed that his source asked him to break up the set, to place February in a position that was not contiguous with January, to write, for example, that February once fell between March and April, he would, I think, have balked at the idea. As P. Drossard has argued, the morphological pairing of the *menses Ianuarius* and *Februarius*, with their odd adjectival ending in *-arius*,[80] Ovid's conception of the two as dedicated to beginnings and ends, and their pairing in the legendary tradition by their simultaneous addition to the year by Numa, seem to have been causative factors in the mistake Ovid makes.[81]

There are in fact strong indications, based on the names of the months, their popular etymologies, and their representation in the calendars and in other literary works, that the Romans thought of all the months, or at least the first six, in pairs.[82] The traditional etymologies given to March and April, especially the strained derivation of April from Aphrodite,[83] mark those months also as a conceptual pair, named for Mars and Venus as ancestors of the Roman race, and as lovers as well. *Maius* and *Iunius* too are both etymologically (whether derived from *maiores/iuniores* or from Maia/Juno) and morphologically paired. Both the *Fasti Sabini* and the *Fasti Venusini*[84]

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[80] Bömer, *Fasten* vol. 1, 42, suggests an Etruscan origin for both names. An analogous and explicit historical use of morphology to indicate cognitive and 'natural' divisions of the years is provided by the French Revolutionary calendar (cf. Introduction, above). Its months were named after seasonal phenomena, with a different characteristic suffix for the three months of each season: fall months were *Vendémaire* (vintage), *Brumaire* (mist), and *Frimaire* (frost); winter months were *Nivôse* (snow), *Pluviôse* (rain), and *Ventôse* (wind); spring months were *Germinal* (seeds), *Floréal* (flowers), *Prairial* (meadows); and finally, summer months were *Messidor* (harvest), *Thermidor* (heat), and *Fructidor* (fruits).

[81] P. Drossard, "Structure et Signification du Livre II des "Fastes" d'Ovide," *L'Information Littéraire* 24 (1972): 67–76, esp. 69.

[82] The recognition of the months as *literary* pairs in the poem goes back to Braun, "Kompositionskunst," 2346–52 and 2363, and has since been generally accepted: Miller, *Elegiac Festivals*, 143–44; Fantham, "Ovid, Germanicus," 257–58; King, "Spatial Form," 101–08; Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 61; N. Holzberg, *Ovid: The Poet and his Work*, trans. G. M. Goshgarian (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 152–75. Hübner's study on the topic ("Zur paarweisen Anordnung") traces Ovid's pairings of the months to his sources, among them the calendar itself, and has much in common with my argument here.

[83] Ov. *Fast.* 4.61–2; Var. *L.L.* 6.33; Porph. *ad. Hor. carm.* 4.11.14–16; *Fast. Praen.* ad Feb. 1. At *Ars.* 1.405–06, Ovid names the kalends of April as *kalendae/quas Venerem Marti continuasse iuvat.*

[84] The tablet for May and June is reconstructed from the codices; the fifteenth-century purchaser of the fragment was also promised by the unidentified discoverer

contain each set of paired months on separate tablets, and the *Fasti Magistrorum Vici*, which contain a full semester on each of two tablets, place a prominent dividing ridge between each set of two months. The months are also paired in the Ausonian monostichs we looked at in the previous section (*Ecl.* 9). Each pair makes up an elegiac couplet and many of the pairs are also thematically or lexically marked. May and June, for example, are expressly linked as significantly sequential: June, named for the *iuniores* follows May, named for the *maiores*; September and October both are marked as harvest months by the almost synonymous verbs *opimat* and *ditat*; November is wintry and stormy, December is wintry but merry. Ausonius' distichs (*Ecl.* 10) are equally clear in their pairing of the months.

The later poet also clearly sees the renaming of the *menses Quintilis* and *Sextilis*[85] in honor of Julius Caesar and Augustus as continuing this pattern of paired contiguous months: in the monostichs he links them by the repetition of *Caesareum nomen* and by using in the line on July a verb, *auget*, which is cognate with *Augustus*. In the distichs, too, Ausonius carefully articulates this pair and interprets its calendrical order: *Augustus sequitur cognatum a Caesare nomen,/ordine sic anni proximus ut generis* [Augustus follows its kindred month, named for Caesar, next in the order of the year as in the order of birth] (*Ecl.* 10.15–16). In both poems, then, the order of the *menses Iulius* and *Augustus* inscribes the generational order of father and son.[86] Later and less successful renamings of the months were likewise often proposed in pairs: upon Tiberius' succession to Augustus' position, the senate proposed that September be re-named *Tiberius*, and October *Livius*, honors which the new emperor declined;[87] in the year after April was changed to *Neroneus*, a further proposal changed May and

(but never received) "*Quintilis* and *Sextilis*," implying that these months too were paired on one tablet (Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 55).

[85] The original morphological pairing of these two months through the adjectival ending in *-ilis*, and their differentiation from the remaining four, which end in *-ber*, may have aided in the acceptance of the *menses Iulius* and *Augustus* as a new pair. Though the changes were not proposed as a set (the *mensis Iulius* was inaugurated in 44 [Dio 45.7.2, Cens. *Nat.* 22.16, Macr. 1.12.34], the *mensis Augustus* probably in 8 B.C.E. [Dio 55.66, Cens. *Nat.* 22.16]), the later honor to Augustus was clearly proposed as an analog to the earlier one to Caesar. Cf. Hübner, "Zur paarweisen Anordnung" 540.

[86] For more on this point, see Ch. 1, under "*Exempla imitanda posteris*: providing for the future" and Ch. 5, passim.

[87] Suet. *Tib.* 26.2. Dio Cassius reports, alternatively, that the proposal was to rename only Tiberius' birth month, November, after the emperor (57.18.2).

June to *Claudius* and *Germanicus*;[88] Domitian gave September and October his own *cognomina* of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*.[89] It seems quite clear that even in their innovations of the calendar, the Romans felt at least the first six months as contiguous complementary pairs, and were more ready to accept new month names if they continued this pattern into the latter months of the year.

If the months are significant units of the Roman year, and not just empty forms, and if the names of the months mean something in relation to one another, in relation to the calendrical structure as a whole, and in relation to their contents, what are the implications of this for our reading practices as we confront the *Fasti*? To return to the didactic model, it seems that the months are a better fit than we might have thought with our beginning conception of didactic divisions of *materia*, in that they seem to carry meaning beyond their function as temporal dividers. That the name of a month means something in the *Fasti* is not surprising, of course: Ovid supplies us with an interpretation (or several) for the month-name at the start of each book. However, that the name of a month should have a specific relationship to the month/book it names is a different matter. If this is the case, the proems of the books of the *Fasti*, in which Ovid explores the meaning or meanings of the name of the month, should function as a powerful interpretive tool, setting up didactic categories whose relation to the rest of the book will organize our reading.

Series rerum

While the months are the most significant divisions of the epigraphic calendar, there are also, of course, elements of the calendar that point to the continuity between the months and to their integration into the year as a whole. The nundinal cycle, which assigns letters A through H to each day of the year, and tracks the recurrence of market days every eighth day, continues uninterrupted across the month boundaries: for example, in the pre-Julian calendar, January 29 is an 'E' day, and February 1 is an 'F' day. Likewise, in the calendars

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[88] *Aprilis* to *Neroneus*: Suet. *Ner.* 55, Tac. *Ann.* 15.74; the following pair: Tac. *Ann.* 16.12. The renaming of already named (rather than numbered) months seems entirely in keeping with the transgressive nature of Nero's reign.

[89] Suet. *Dom.* 13.3; Plut. *Num.* 19, Macr. 1.12.36–37.

that provide a running count of the days, the numbering of the days after the ides of each month follows the standard dating practice by looking forward to the kalends of the next, 'counting down' towards that day. This too, in a sense, provides a bridge between the graphically separate spaces of the months. In Ovid's *Fasti* too, certain passages look ahead to the next month, so that near the end of Book 2, Ovid pictures Mars rushing up to take over: *Iamque duae restant noctes de mense secundo,/Marsque citos iunctis curribus urget equos* [And now two nights remain in the second month, and Mars speeds on his horses, yoked to the chariot] (2.857–64).[90] Other passages give the reader a cross reference to another month's book: at 5.721 Ovid literally sends the reader back to Book 1 (*Ad Ianum redeat, qui quaerit Agonia quid sit* [Whoever asks what the Agonia are should return to [the book/month of] Janus]).[91] Newlands has recognized these references as a structural strategy used to "knit the poem together."[92]

An even closer parallel to the effect of the unifying structures in the calendar is perhaps to be sought early in the poem, however. In 1.45–60, the poet explains the abbreviations that mark the religious and juridical character of each day (the *variorum iura dierum* [45]), the letters of the nundinal cycle (54), the dedication of the kalends of each month to Juno (55) and the ides to Jupiter (56), and the fact that the day after each of the dividing days is a "black day" (57–60). He closes these lines with the following: *haec mihi dicta semel, totis haerentia fastis,/ne seriem rerum scindere cogar, erunt* [I'll say these things once, though they apply to the whole calendar, so I won't be forced to break the succession of events] (1.61–62). Stylistically, the point is logical and necessary—a daily or monthly repetition of these pieces of information would indeed be onerous and ugly. However, the problem is expressed not as one of repetition, but as one of *continuity*, of not wishing to break the *series rerum*. In the epigraphic calendars, it is precisely the inclusion of this information every day that provides continuity: the *fasti*, as we have seen, list every day of the year, whether it contains a special festival or not, along with its nundinal letter and its character, and sometimes with its number in the day-count, placing each day in a systematic continuum. Paradoxically, Ovid aims to achieve with his brief one-time explanation of this

[90] See also 4.947–48, 6.797.
[91] See also 3.791, 5.145–48, 184–88, 723–24.
[92] Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 209–10.

repetitive calendrical information the same mimetic effect that the running list of nundinal days and the day-counts do in the epigraphical *fasti*. By applying this explication to the whole calendar (*totis haerentia fastis*), Ovid gives the impression of systematicity and continuity without reporting each day's nature as he comes to it in the series.

This passage and its relationship to the calendrical model make another important point about the reading practices called for by the poem. Ovid's concern not to break the *series rerum* implies that the *Fasti* asks for continuous reading. On the one hand, this may seem to speak against the modern habit of reading the *Fasti* as if it were a composite poetry book, on such models as the books of Roman love elegy (including Ovid's own *Amores*), Vergil's *Eclogues* and Horace's *Odes* and *Sermones*.[93] This mode of reading the poem was pioneered by H. Herter in the middle part of the last century as a means of overcoming the critical difficulties many readers had with the poem's seeming disjuncture,[94] but has only come into its own in the last three decades, stimulated in large part by the work of L. Braun.[95] On the analogy of these other Augustan models, the critic begins to look for principles of ordering beyond simple *variatio*, such as symmetrical ordering of poems by length and/or topic, 'pendant' poems that balance around a center, and the use of ordering and length to assign emphasis to one poem or another. This suggestion has met with great success: the fact that many critics, even before Braun, have seen the *Fasti*'s day-entries as the basic unit of its composition,[96] as well as the modern editorial convention of breaking up the poem with day markers borrowed from the epigraphical *fasti*,[97] so that each book *looks* like it was put together from

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[93] A sample of studies of Augustan poetry books: C. Becker, "Vergils Eklogenbuch," *Hermes* 83 (1955): 314–49; O. Skutsch, "The structure of the Propertian Monobiblos," *CP* 58 (1963): 238–39; M. Santirocco, *Unity and Design in Horace's Odes* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986). A good survey is offered compositely by the articles in *Arethusa* 13.1 (1980), a special issue on "The Augustan Poetry Book." Cf. Barchiesi's discussion of this issue as it applies to the *Fasti: The Poet and the Prince*, 99–103.

[94] H. Herter, "Ovids Kunstprinzip in den *Metamorphosen*," *AJPh* 69 (1948), 135 ff.

[95] Braun, "Kompositionskunst," 2344–83. Except in Books 4 and 5, however, Braun sees these organizational units rarely extending to more than two or three passages in order.

[96] J. Pfeiffer, "Untersuchungen zur Komposition und Erzählungstechnik von Ovids 'Fasten'" (diss. Tübingen 1952), consistently calls the poem's sections 'Gedichte'.

[97] The medieval manuscript tradition did not break up the text in this manner;

individual poems, indicate the degree to which the model of the composite book, the norm for elegiac composition, has been operational in criticism of the work. Braun's work simply brought this critical tendency to the fore and exploited its potential. This acceptance of the work as composite in nature has paradoxically led to a broader conception of how the books might be unified as awareness of the constructed, architectural quality of true composite books has grown. This approach has encouraged readers to make connections across the day boundaries, reading one day's 'poem' against and in relation to those around it[98] and has encouraged efforts to find unity within the books through common themes or tones[99] and through overarching structures of designed *variatio* and numerical balancing.[100]

Although this composite model of the poetic book has proven useful in opening up the possibilities of interpretation, we must balance it with an awareness that the *Fasti* is not in fact composite in its design or execution. It has a single topic (*Tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum/lapsaque sub terras ortaque signa canam* [1.1–2]), and is very specific about its poetic and temporal continuity, syntactically and semantically signaling its linear progress from day to day and its identity as a whole. The *Fasti* does, in fact, treat nearly every day of the year, though often in synoptic form. When the poem does skip a day or more in its continuous count, the omission is nearly always either noted or followed by an almost explicit re-establishment of the count.[101] For example, when Ovid omits February 11,

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J. G. Frazer, ed., trans. and comm., *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum Libri Sex* (London: Macmillan, 1929), vol. 5, plates 1–4 reproduces parts of the codices. Merkel's Teubner text (1853) first introduced the breaks between sections and the insertion of calendrical dates, nundinal letters, day characters, and day names as headings to each section. On the effects of the breaks on habits of reading, see Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 17; Rüpke, "Kalenderkommentar," 132 and n. 29.

[98] E.g. Newlands, *Playing with Time*, "Ravenous Raven," and "Connecting the Disconnected: Reading Ovid's *Fasti*," in *Intratextulaity: Greek and Roman Textual Relations*, edd. A. Sharrock and H. Morales (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 171–202; Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*.

[99] E.g. Rutledge, "Style and Composition;" Stok, "L'Ambiguo Romolo;" Hinds, "*Arma*—Parts 1 and 2."

[100] E.g. Braun, "Kompositionskunst;" Drossard, "Structure et Signification."

[101] The only exception to this pattern I have found is April 7–8. These dates fall, however, in the middle of the Ludi Megalenses (April 4–10, Book 4.179–392) and the date before them is fairly explicitly marked (*Tertia lux . . . ludi erat* [377]). The Megalensia and the Cerialia which follows it were recognized by Braun ("Kompositionskunst," 2352–53) as the most significant structural units in Book 4. It may be that the conceptual unity of this time period made it less necessary to count the days within it explicitly.

the entry for February 12 begins, *Tertia nox veniat* . . . [Let the third night come . . .] (2.153); and when he passes February 25 and 26 without comment, he resumes the count with *Iamque duae restant noctes de mense secunde* [And now two nights remain of the second month] (2.857). Like the year the *Fasti* represents, and like the epigraphic calendrical representations of that year, some days are fuller than others, and those days receive more extended treatments.[102] A look at two examples of the strategies by which the poem notes the passing of less eventful days will serve for the poem as a whole. In each, the effect of continuous reading without the interruption of the calendrical material inserted by modern editors is striking.

The last eight days of March, after the Tubilustrium of the 23rd, are given the following verses, which are broken into three sections in modern editions:

Tres ubi Luciferos veniens praemiserit Eos,
tempora nocturnis aequa diurna feres.
Inde quater pastor saturos ubi clauserit haedos,
canuerint herbae rore recente quater,
Ianus adorandus cumque hoc Concordia mitis
et Romana Salus Araque Pacis erit.
Luna regit menses: huius quoque tempora mensis
finit Aventino Luna colenda iugo.

[When the coming Dawn has sent the morning star in advance three times, you will have daylight hours equal to night. Then, when the shepherd has closed in his well-fed goats four times, and the grass has turned white with fresh dew four times, Janus must be worshipped and gentle Concord with him and Roman Security and the Altar of Peace. Luna regulates the months: she also ends this month's time, demanding worship on the Aventine hill.]

(3.877–84)

These lines, despite their brevity, treat each of the passing days, maintaining the principle of temporal continuity. The first distich notes the passing of the 24th and 25th (three days in the Roman count), and gives specific marking information for the 26th, the vernal equinox.[103] The next distich notes the passing of three days, and

[102] Rüpke, "Kalenderkommentar," 130 notes that Ovid gives full accounts of every large-letter festival, the festivals that are consistently represented in every extant graphic calendar, regardless of date or provenance.

[103] Ovid's inaccuracy as to the date of the equinox is not a bad as we might think; both Col. 11.2.31 and Plin. *N.H.* 18.246 date it to March 25.

the following two lines treat the 30th. The last couplet ends the book and the month with the worship of Luna on the Aventine on the 31st. Four different means of marking the days are used in these eight lines: a variation on the epic topos of 'rosy-fingered dawn' as the marker of a new day; an observation of one of the four most significant astronomical events of the year; a terrestrial observation of daily life; and the celebration of a particular rite. While these lines are brief, they are by no means only space fillers: this ingenious means of counting the days keeps the poem in rhythm with the year it represents. Even their brevity is expressive, representative of the relative lack of religious activity on those days.

Elsewhere this variety of ways of marking a date or the passage of a day is unified by emphatic didactic structuring. After the account of the January Agonalia, seven lines read continuously:

Interea Delphin clarum super aequora sidus
tollitur et patriis exserit ora vadis.
Postera lux hiemem medio discrimine signat,
aequaque praeteritae quae superabit erit.
Proxima prospiciet Tithono nupta relicto
Arcadiae sacrum pontificale deae.
te quoque lux eadem, Turni soror, aede recepit . . .

[Meanwhile the bright sign Dolphin rises above the sea and sticks its head out from its father's waves. The following day marks the midpoint of winter, and what remains will be equal to what has passed. The next time Tithonus is left behind, his bride will look out upon the pontifical rites of the Arcadian goddess. The same day receives you too, O sister of Turnus, with a temple.]

(1.457–63)

Again Ovid uses a wide range of indicators of date: an astronomical observation,[104] a seasonal one, another variant on the 'rosy-fingered dawn' motif, and observation of rites. In addition, however, the narrative is both segmented and connected by temporal adverbs and adjectives, whose placement at the front of each hexameter line is not to be missed. The language Ovid uses to mark the passing

[104] This is precisely the sort of passage Santini ("Motivi Astronomici") has in mind in his argument that the poem's astronomical passages are in large part structural in function, both making reference to the astronomical basis of the calendar, and indicating the place in that larger structure of each day's calendrical entry. The longer astronomical passages that include star myths are more frequently thematically engaged with Ovid's treatment of other material, a point made at greatest length by Newlands, *Playing with Time*, esp. 27–50; and Gee, *Ovid, Aratus*.

days echoes didactic markers of new subjects, which likewise tend to be emphasized by their placement at the heads of lines. Lucretius, for example, marks a series of didactic subsections with *praeterea . . . porro . . . huc accedit ut . . . denique . . . postremo . . .* (1.174–214). Both the calendar and the *Fasti*'s didactic representation of the days as subcategories treat each day as separate, but situate it within a continuum organized by the month.

The representation of each day in this example by a separate distich brings up the question of whether Ovid's metrical choice in the *Fasti* can be explained in part by the mimetic quality of its didactic structure. Drossard has suggested that Ovid's choice of the elegiac meter for his calendar-poem was influenced by a "pre-established harmony between this rhythm and the partition of time in the calendar" [my translation]. The much-trumpeted inappropriateness of the elegiac meter to continuous narrative is exploited by the poet to express the calendar's segmentation of time, so that the elegiac meter then represents the *tempora*, and the didactic structure and mode, the *causae* of the first line of the poem.[105] Of course, we do have Greek examples of quasi-didactic elegiac (most obviously, Callimachus' *Aetia*), which have been shown to be of great importance to the *Fasti*. Nonetheless, even with the Greek models in the background, a Roman's choice to use elegiac couplets in a didactic poem would entail allowing the meter to bring with it its very strong associations with short erotic poetry—their use in the didactic *Ars Amatoria* and *Remedia Amoris* was without a doubt pointedly intended to do so. While these generic issues clearly come into play in the *Fasti*, Ovid's choice of this meter continues to require explanation, and Drossard's theory is quite suggestive, fitting well with the other mimetic structures of the poem.

Ovid's careful maintenance of the *series rerum* again calls for a re-evaluation of the poem's project, and of the way that project relates to the Roman year. Though the treatment of the *Fasti*'s books as composite poetry books can be fruitful, readings of this sort require re-integration into the poem's structural whole in order for us to approach an understanding of Ovid's calendar-poem. The dialogue between calendrical and didactic structures which Ovid forces in the *Fasti* asks us to think about the poem's day-entries both as part of

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[105] Drossard, "Structure et Signification," 68.

a continuum of experience, and as organized by the didactic category of the month.

Ovid's *Fasti* engages with the Roman calendar not as an empty structure around which to build his poem, but as a quasi-literary model whose way of organizing and presenting the *materia* that is the Roman year is both mirrored and explored in the poem's own structure. Ovid's assimilation of the foundational acts of the calendar- and city-builders Romulus and Numa, Caesar and Augustus to poetic composition generally and to the poetics of his own project in particular, asks us to think about the calendar as an important intertext for the *Fasti*. Figured as organized by authorial intent, the calendar carries all the possibilities and limits that implies—a good reader of the calendar must look for guidance from the calendrical structure; his readings will be shaped by the calendar, but are, ultimately, his own. Ovid's poem emerges as just such a reading, interpreting the calendrical structures and translating them into meaningful elements of its own exegesis of the year. Ovid's explanation of *tempora cum causis* is as much an exploration of the *tempora* as of their causes, and indeed his etiological explanations are likely to be influenced by the calendrical structures. The effect of Ovid's didactic structuring is to teach not just the meanings reflected in the *aetia* associated with the various rites and commemorations inscribed in the calendar, but to teach something about how the calendar builds these meanings.

I have suggested in particular two reading practices that this theory recommends: first, that the month/books should be taken seriously as organizing structures, and that Ovid's proemic explanations of the month-names should serve as guides to interpretation of the books; second, that the effects of continuous reading should always be kept in mind, so that the relationship between contiguous or closely placed day-entries should be given careful attention. The combination of these two suggestions implies that readers should particularly think about the relationship between the day-entries within a single month/book. In some sense, these strategies will have come as no surprise—they are generally consistent with the habits of reading that have produced a wealth of excellent literary readings of the *Fasti* in recent years. My insistence on the relationship of these suggestions to the calendrical model is pointed, however: if the sections of the poem are so explicitly and carefully linked to the calendrical structure, to their place within a particular month, we might expect that

the literary connections between these sections are likewise in some way connected to the poem's calendrical intertext. If Ovid's poem is indeed mimetic of the experience of the ritual year as organized by the calendar, we should consider the possibility that the numerous literary connections between Ovid's accounts of various rites which have been offered up by the literary rehabilitation of the *Fasti* in the course of the last twenty years are made under the influence of calendrical structures which ask for and encourage interpretation, categorization, the building of connections and contrasts, in general, the organization of meanings from the bare bones of the calendar. The chapters that follow will make use of many earlier literary readings of smaller sections of the *Fasti* and will also offer some of my own, but always with an awareness of the epigraphical *fasti* as a structure that raises its own set of 'generic' expectations, a text which Ovid reads as carefully as he reads those of his poetic predecessors.

CHAPTER THREE

VENUS' MONTH

Fasti 4 offers a particularly appropriate testing ground for the expectations raised by the complex relationship I have been arguing for between the poem's calendrical *materia* and its poetics. Ovid's book on April opens with an extensive proem, comprised of a programmatic conversation between the narrator and Venus and a discourse on the etymology of the month's name, including a genealogy of the *Iulii* and hymnic praise of Venus as *genetrix omnium*, reminiscent of the proem to Lucretius' *De rerum natura*. As we shall see, the *Fasti*'s Venus proem is constructed to organize the remainder of the book, but has scarcely been treated in relationship to the entirety of the book it introduces. The cohesion suggested by the proem is reinforced by a cycle of closely related agricultural festivals in the latter part of April, including the Cerealia, Fordicidia, Parilia, Vinalia, Robigalia and Floralia. Examination of the poetic strategies by which Ovid represents and reinforces the overlapping meanings of these cults, and also of the links he builds between less clearly related goddesses who are worshipped in April will bring to light the means by which the literary structures of the book support and indeed perform the connections between rites that were part of the ritual experience of the Roman year, both 'true' (i.e., historically and developmentally traceable) connections and ones that are 'imaginary' (but no less culturally significant).

"The poet and the month are yours . . ."

The Venus-proem of *Fasti* 4.1–132 has received a good deal of attention from literary critics, and for good reason.[1] The passage stands

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[1] The most extensive and thorough treatment is Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 53–60, on whose observations I build throughout. See also Green, "Varro's Three Theologies," 79–83; E. Fantham, ed. and comm, *Ovid, Fasti IV* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), ad 4.1–18.

in the center of the work as we have it, a position often given programmatic significance in Roman poetry;[2] this proem does not disappoint our expectations. In conversation with Venus, who is offended by his neglect of her (i.e., of erotic poetry), the poet places the *Fasti* in relation to his earlier elegy, most particularly by allusion to the close of the *Amores*. Surprised at the poet's invocation of her, Venus asks, *'quid tibi mecum? certe maiora canebas'* ['What's your business with me? Surely you were singing of bigger matters'] (*Fast.* 4.3). Ovid claims never to have deserted the goddess' standards, and that she is always his *opus* (4.7–8). At the end of the *Amores*, Ovid had taken his leave of Venus and of elegiac verse in order to pursue the greater glory of tragedy: *corniger increpuit thyrso graviore Lyaeus:/pulsanda est magnis area maior equis./inbelles elegi, genialis Musa, valete* [Horned Lyaeus has banged his heavier staff: a bigger field needs big horses to thunder over it. Unwarlike elegies, merry Muse, farewell] (*Am.* 3.15.17–19).[3] *Amores* 3.15 opened with a farewell to the goddess: *Quaere novum vatem, tenerorum mater Amorum!* [Seek a new poet, mother of the tender Loves!]; the first line of *Fasti* 4 greets Venus with a similar address: *'Alma, fave', dixi 'geminorum mater Amorum'* ['Greetings,' I said, 'nourishing mother of the twin loves'].[4] The *Fasti* passage, by denying in an elegiac poem that the poet ever left the standards of Venus, reconfigures the terms of generic discussion posited in the *Amores*. A choice between big themes and elegy is no longer the question—Ovid has found his *area maior* without abandoning the elegiac form. The question is now whether the form fits the new subject, and whether this sort of elegy still has any connection to erotic elegy, and to Venus.[5]

In this first exchange, Ovid's narrator assures Venus that he has come to the fourth month, one in which the goddess receives a lot of ritual attention: *quo tu celeberrima mense* (4.13). The exaggeration of this line has been noted—Venus only shows up three times in the

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[2] G. B. Conte, "Proems in the middle," in *Beginnings in Classical Literature*, edd. F. M. Dunn and T. Cole (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 147–59. Cf. Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 56.

[3] Cf. also: *nunc teritur nostris area maior equis* (*Fast.* 4.10).

[4] For fuller discussions of the two passages see Miller, *Elegiac Festivals*, 29; Hinds, *Metamorphosis*, 118 and 162, n. 7; "*Arma*—Part I," 85–87. On *gemini Amores* as a possible reference to the double edition of Ovid's *Amores*, see Miller, *Elegiac Festivals*, 152, n. 76.

[5] Cf. Harries, "Causation," 174–75.

month's festivals.[6] Nonetheless, Venus' overarching preeminence in the month is reiterated twice more in the first eighteen lines: *'tu mihi propositum, tu mihi semper opus'* 'You are my topic, you are always my work'] (4.8); *'et vatem et mensem scis, Venus, esse tuos'* ['You know, Venus, that both the poet and the month are yours'] (4.14). Keeping in mind our didactic model, *propositum* surely refers to the goddess as an organizing principle for the month, indeed as the topic of Book 4.[7] The assurance that both poet and month belong to the goddess is a bit disconcerting, however: is there a causal relationship here? Does the month belong to Venus *because* the poet belongs to her? Has the poet sacrificed religious and ritual accuracy for the sake of poetic allegiance to the patron goddess of his earlier works?[8] The very fact that Venus is not found sprinkled throughout the poem in rites where she does not belong clears the poet of this charge. Is the poet then lying to the goddess when he tells her she is *celeberrima* in the month of April, presenting a situationalist rhetorical defense of his project which need not be borne out in the rest of the book? Our earlier investigations of the poem's careful linking of poetic and calendrical projects would lead us to expect rather that this programmatic proem would serve as an organizing force for the poetic book and for the rites in the month that follows. The rest of the proem provides a portrait of Venus that sets her up as precisely the organizing principle we expect from a didactic *propositum*, and allows the goddess to be *celeberrima* in her month without the insertion of fictionalized celebrations of Venus *per se*.

'Alma, fave', dixi 'geminorum mater Amorum'

After the poet's conversation with Venus there follow two sections on the derivation of the name of April. The first traces the month's name to Aphrodite, and begins with a long section on the goddess as ancestress of the *gens Iulia*, and of the Romans more generally (4.19–60); Romulus named this month after Venus and the preced-

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[6] Once in the rather dubious context of the Vinalia, whose rites are in reality dedicated to Jupiter. Cf. Porte, *Etiologie Religieuse*, 78–99.

[7] *OLD*, s.v. "propositum," 3 a–b.

[8] Cf. Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 56. Barchiesi's emphasis remains on the generic associations of the goddess with erotic elegy and her transforming influence on the poem, rather than the poem's transformation of her.

ing one after Mars as *parentes* (57) of himself and his descendants. This is, of course, the familiar image of Venus Genetrix, who appears so prominently in Augustan imagery, and very often joined to Mars in precisely this way.[9]

The next section (4.85–132) is more surprising, however, in that it expands the portrait of Venus to give her a widely pervasive generative power. In the course of defending the goddess against an alternative etymology for the month of April from *aperire*, 'to open' (4.87–89), the poet ascribes the power of opening to Venus, in effect saying that even if the etymology is from *aperire* rather than from *Aphrodite*, it amounts to the same thing: the month is Venus'.[10] This hymnic ode to Venus owes much once again to the Lucretian proem (1.1–49), in which the goddess, as the grantor of attractiveness (sexual and otherwise), is invoked as an ally in the writing of the poem.[11] She is triply appropriate to Lucretius' project: first, because as the goddess of love she controls reproduction, the birth of things (*rerum natura* [21]), which in a slightly different sense is the topic of Lucretius' poem (25); second, because she can grant charm to the poem, just as she does to living beings (28); and third, because as the lover of Mars, she can calm the force of war and grant the peace needed for philosophical work to proceed (29–49). On the broadest level, Ovid's proem owes much to Lucretius' clever blending of poetic form and material in the realm of a single goddess—just as Lucretius' Venus delivers both the grace of poetry and the topic of the poem, the *Fasti*'s Venus is both a poetic construct, a representative of the form of elegy and a patroness of poetry, and a didactic one, the *propositum* of Book 4. More specifically, it is the theme of Venus as *genetrix omnium* that Ovid owes to Lucretius here:

alma Venus, caeli subter labentia signa
quae mare navigerum, quae terras frugiferentis

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[9] Zanker, *Power of Images*, 193–201. Venus Genetrix was originally a cult of the *gens Iulia* (Caelius, *ap. Cic. fam.*, 8.15.2), made national when the Aeneas legend became a national myth.

[10] Cf. Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.12–15, Var. *L.L.* 6.33, *Fast. Praen. praefatio* to April (Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 127). R. Schilling, *La Religion romaine de Vénus depuis les origines jusqu'au temps d'Auguste* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1954), 176–84 traces the historical development of the controversy between the two etymologies. See also Porte, *Etiologie Religieuse*, 80–82.

[11] Harries, "Causation," 174–75 and n. 50; P. Ferrarino, "Laus Veneris," in *Ovidiana: récherches sur Ovide*, ed. N. Herescu (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1958), 301–16. Cf. also *Tr.* 2.261.

concelebras, per te quoniam genus omne animantum
concipitur visitque exortum lumina solis.

[Nourishing Venus, you who under the slipping signs of the sky populate the ship-carrying sea and the fruit-bearing earth, since through you every species of living thing is conceived and springs forth to look on the light of the sun.]

(Lucr. 1.4–5)

iuraque dat caelo, terrae, natalibus undis
perque suos initus continet omne genus.

[[Venus] gives laws to the sky, the earth, and the waves that bore her, and through her unions she controls every species.]

(*Fast.* 4.93–94)

The totalizing naming of three regions of the world (*caelum, terra, mare/undae*) in both passages, and the emphasis on *omne genus* points to the comprehensiveness of the generative power of the goddess.[12]

The *Fasti* passage goes still further however, extending Venus' power over animal and human generation to the gods and to plants: *illa deos omnes (longum est numerare) creavit./illa satis causas arboribusque dedit* . . . [She created all the gods (too many to enumerate). She gave origins to crops and trees . . .] (4. 95–96). Ovid's recasting of Venus as a mother of the gods (4.95) is difficult to explain—such a notion is absent from Lucretius' Venus proem, and despite the Theogonic tone of *longum est numerare* the closest thing Hesiod gives us to such a claim is the early generation of Eros (*Theog.* 120).[13] The other new note here, Venus as vegetation goddess, has more of a history, as one Roman tradition assigns her the protection of gardens.[14] Here, however, Venus gives *causas* to trees and grain, not just to the vegetables and flowers grown in a Roman garden.

Ovid constructs, then, a Venus who is the Julian and Roman *genetrix* (4.19–60), the Lucretian *genetrix omnium*, and, strangely enough, the source of vegetative growth and the *creatrix* of the other gods (4.96–107). Herbert-Brown attributes this extension of the goddess' province to the Augustan elevation of the goddess; her discussion is excellent for this angle of Ovid's treatment, but is less than satisfying for the goddess' expansion beyond *genetrix* of the Julians to *gene-*

[12] Cf. also *h. Aph.* 1–6. Fantham, *Fasti IV, ad loc.* and on the following lines points to Lucr. 1.159–72, his argument that nothing comes from nothing.
[13] Cf. Plato *Sym.* 178B.
[14] Var. *L.* 6.20, *R.* 1.1.6; Fest. 322L, 366L; Plin. *N.H.* 19.50.

trix omnium.[15] Another recent reading by C. M. C. Green connects the wide-ranging generative powers of this goddess to her interpretation by Varro, pointing to the antiquarian's philosophical explanation of Venus' nature as the force joining the elemental principles of fire and water that are the conditions of life (*L.L.* 5.61–63). Green argues that this is the guiding 'theology' of *Fasti* 4 and demonstrates Ovid's play with the balancing of fire and water over the course of Venus' month. Green's other point, that Varro, like Ovid, makes numerous connections among many of the goddesses related to fertility and abundance celebrated in April remains largely unexplored.[16] As we shall see, the broad powers Ovid's proem assigns to Venus allow her to stake a claim (or at least a connection) to numerous rites within 'her' month, so that she is, in fact, *celeberrima* in *Fasti* 4.

Almae matres

The use of *alma* as the first word of Book 4 marks its importance for the book as a whole. Hinds has suggested that Book 3's *incipit* with the word *bellice* relates to a particular focus on epic *arma* in Mars' book, perhaps playing with the Greco-Roman tradition of using a work's first word or words as a quasi-title.[17] The proems of Books 3 and 4 clearly respond to one another compositionally and thematically:[18] if Book 4's proem uses Venus as a means of exploring the relation between erotic elegy and etiological elegy, Book 3's Mars helps the poet negotiate the relation of his new form to epic. *Bellice* marks the generic problem in Book 3; *alma* here perhaps marks part of Ovid's solution, his redefinition of Venus.

The initial emphasis on the epithet is also an accurate sign of the prevalence of the theme of mother goddesses in this book as opposed to the other five: *alma* is used six times in the *Fasti*, all in Book 4, and of four different goddesses—Venus (4.1, 90), Magna Mater (319),

[15] *Ovid and the* Fasti, 81–95. Herbert-Brown's claim that Ovid carefully separates this Venus from the patron goddess of his earlier erotic poetry ignores 4.107–11, in which the goddess is responsible for the invention of love poetry, and undervalues the echoes of the end of the *Amores* in the poet's tête-à-tête with the goddess in lines 1–18.

[16] Green, "Varro's Three Theologies."

[17] Hinds, "*Arma*—Parts I and II." On *bellice*, 88–89.

[18] Braun, "Kompositionskunst," 2346–48; Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 61–65; Fantham, *Fasti IV*, 87–88.

Ceres (547) and Pales (722, 723). But the theme of motherhood is even more prominent than this lexical pattern suggests. In every sense in which Venus is mother in the proem of Book 4 (except as mother of the twin loves, of course), there are one or more other goddesses in the month/book who have a traditional claim to the honor.[19] In examining these shared maternal roles, I will proceed from those that are more traditional to Venus to those that are unprecedented in order to demonstrate that the poetic connection of religious motifs and images works in two directions in Book 4. On the one hand, the conception that the month is a unit under the title of *alma Venus* works on Ovid's composition of the month's rites, as the traditional features of Venus recur in the narratives of other goddesses; on the other hand, the proemic Venus is constructed under the influence of the rites of April, borrowing the features of the goddesses celebrated in the month precisely in order to connect and unite them.

To begin with, Venus's role as mother of Aeneas and thereby of the Romans, that is, her figuration as Venus Genetrix, is well-established in the Augustan period, and would seem indisputable. This is likely the first meaning of *alma* that would occur to readers of the proem; the epithet became common for Venus after its use in the first line of the Lucretian proem: *Aeneadum genetrix . . . alma Venus* [Mother of the descendants of Aeneas . . . nourishing Venus].[20] Lucretius' *Aeneades* are, of course, the Romans, but Augustan ideology quickly made the association with the Julian *gens* inevitable. Horace's *Ode* 4.15 ends its praise of Augustus and the *pax Augusta* with another reference to the Trojan legend: *Troiamque et Anchisem et almae/progeniem Veneris canemus* [And I will sing Troy and Anchises and the offspring of nourishing Venus] (31–32),[21] where the "offspring of *alma Venus*" has a double referent in Aeneas and Augustus himself. In the *Aeneid* the epithet applied to Venus is always associated with her par-

[19] The ancients acknowledged the relationship between *alma* and the verb *alere*, but also used it more generally as a synonym of *mater*. Cf. Bömer, ad *Fast.* 4.1., and *TLL, s.v.* "alma." R. Waltz, "Alma Venus," *REA* 59 (1957): 51–71 is valuable in allowing for a range of meanings for *alma* beyond the etymological association with *alere*, but strangely neglects the possibility of the meaning 'maternal'.

[20] Bömer, ad *Fasti* 4.1; Waltz, "Alma Venus," 66. Cf. *Tr.* 2.261. This is, of course, only one implication of *alma* in the Lucretian proem, as we saw above; cf. Waltz, "Alma Venus," 68–71.

[21] Cf. M. C. J. Putnam, *Artifices of Eternity: Horace's Fourth Book of Odes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 296–99.

enting and protection of Aeneas; at 1.617–18, for example, Dido uses it when she realizes who Aeneas is: *'tune ille Aeneas quem Dardanio Anchisae/alma Venus . . . genuit?'* ['Are you the Aeneas whom nourishing Venus bore to Dardanian Anchises?'].[22] The *Fasti* proem begins with this same *alma Venus* and continues with an explicit genealogical linking of Venus, Aeneas, Romulus, and Caesar (whether Augustus or Germanicus) (4.19–56). The topic arises again near the close of the proem as Ovid claims that Venus "was called the daughter-in-law of Assaracus so that, of course, great Caesar might later have Julian ancestors" [*Assaracique nurus dicta est, ut scilicet/olim magnus Iuleos Caesar haberet avos*] (4.123–24). The proem, then, repeatedly and explicitly portrays Venus as both the Julian and Roman *genetrix*.

Later in the book, the narrative of Venus Erycina's introduction into the city also plays on the goddess' genealogical connection to the Romans, emphasizing her preference for the city of her offspring:

> *utque Syracusas Arethusidas abstulit armis*
> *Claudius et bello te quoque cepit, Eryx,*
> *carmine vivacis Venus est translata Sibyllae,*
> *inque suae stirpis maluit urbe coli.*
>
> [And when Claudius plundered Arethusan Syracuse with arms and also seized you, Eryx, in battle, Venus was transferred because of the song of the long-lived Sibyl, and preferred to be worshipped in the city of her offspring.]
>
> (4.873–76)

The last line guarantees the link of Venus Erycina to the Venus of our proem, whose descendants the poet traced from Aeneas to the foundation of the city. The lines refer, though in a slightly garbled manner, to the historical introduction of the Sicilian goddess of Mount Eryx to Rome in 215 B.C.E. The first temple of Venus Erycina was vowed in 217 and dedicated on the Palatine two years later by Q. Fabius Maximus in response to a consultation of Sibylline books after the disaster at Lake Trasimene.[23] Venus Erycina is the oldest guise of Venus *qua* Aphrodite in the city,[24] and her association with

[22] See also *Aen.* 2.591, 2.664, 10.332.

[23] Liv. 22.9.10, 10.10, 23.30.13–14, 31.9. Ovid's substitution of M. Claudius Marcellus for Fabius also ties the Claudian branch of the *domus Augusta* to Venus.

[24] I.e., the first instantiation of the goddess which explicitly acknowledged her roots in Greece. Though Schilling (*Vénus*, 206–9) sees Greek influence in Venus' early association with gardens, he sees this cult as a dividing line in the Hellenization of the goddess; among other evidence, her pairing with Mars in the lectisternium

Troy and the Aeneas legend likely contributed to her importation to Rome. Evidence suggests that the legend of Rome's Trojan forefathers was exploited in the city's relations with Magna Graecia as early as the beginning of the third century to suggest Rome's affinity with the Greeks. Venus Erycina in particular underwent a major reinterpretation in the aftermath of the First Punic War: previously strongly associated with the Carthaginian element in Sicily, her 'naturalization' as a Roman ancestral god marked the island's new political attachment to the Roman state.[25] Thus the poem's identification of the goddess emigrée with the mother-goddess of the Roman race has a strong and complex pedigree, and sounds a note familiar from the proem's hymn to Venus.

Nonetheless, this narrative of Venus' advent to the city of her descendants has a close parallel in, and is thoroughly upstaged by, the *Fasti*'s story of Magna Mater's emigration to the city eleven years later (but earlier in the month of April). The goddess Cybele was brought to Rome in 204 B.C.E. from Phrygia in connection with the culmination of the second Punic War[26] and in response to a Sibylline oracle, given to us by Diodorus Siculus and Livy in slightly different versions. Diodorus does not connect the oracle to the war (34.33.2), whereas Livy explicitly makes the advent of Cybele a condition for the expulsion of Hannibal (29.10.2). Already in the historical record, the parallels between the importation of Venus Erycina and that of Magna Mater are clear: both goddesses are imported in response to the Hannibalic War; the importation of each is dictated by a Sibylline

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that coincided with the vowing of the temple in 217 indicates the identification of the pair with Aphrodite and Ares.

[25] Schilling, *Vénus*, 242–64; D. Kienast, "Rom und die Venus vom Eryx," *Hermes* 93 (1965): 478–89; K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 172–76. Reevaluation of the Aeneas legend in the light of archeological work of the late twentieth century shows that it is clearly present in Italy much earlier than literary sources might indicate, dating at least to the sixth century B.C.E., but was closely tied to Lavinium as a local legend: G. Dury-Moyaers, *Énée et Lavinium: A propos des découvertes archéologiques récentes* (Brussels: Latomus, 1981). On the lateness of the popularity of the Aeneas myth at Rome, cf. T. Cornell, "Aeneas' arrival in Italy," *LCM* 2 (1977): 77–83. By the Augustan period, in which Aeneas' sojourn in Sicily was documented in a national epic, the connection between Venus Erycina and Aeneas was well established. Cf. Serv. auct. *Aen.* 1.720: *est et Erucina quam Aeneas secum advexit.*

[26] E. S. Gruen rightly emphasizes that the importation occurred at the end of the war, when victory was already all but inevitable, not, as often stated in discussions of the incident, during the crisis of the war: *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 5–6.

oracle. The Sibyl instructed that a temple be built for Venus Erycina by the most powerful man in Rome: *is . . . cuius maximum imperium in civitate esset* (Liv. 22.10.10); Delphic Apollo asked that the Magna Mater be received by Rome's best man: *vir optimus Romae* (Liv. 29.11.6–8).[27]

The similarities between the two events as reported in Livy are given clarity in Ovid by a quite strictly parallel structure for the two narratives: the goddess' former dwelling is named (4.873–4, 249–50), the historical circumstances of the transfer are given (873, 255–56), an oracle advises that the goddess be brought to Rome (875, 257–64), and the goddess' preference for Rome is expressed (876, 251–2 and 269–70). The Venus Erycina passage, however, reports in five lines what takes the Magna Mater passage twenty, and does so in a flat, third-person narrative. The preceding story of Magna Mater's advent is colorfully narrated by the muse Erato, directly quoting oracles, the words of the goddess, and those of the king who sends Cybele to Rome. Magna Mater also enthusiastically stakes a prior claim to Venus' role as mother of the Romans:[28] the first of the two oracles that summon her to Rome (the words of the Cumaean Sibyl are clarified by Delphic Apollo) emphasizes her role as mother with great ambiguity: '*mater abest: matrem iubeo, Romane, requiras*' ['The mother is absent: I bid you seek the mother, Roman'] (259).[29] The vocative,

[27] Cf. H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle Mère des Dieux à Rome dans l'Empire Romain* (Paris: Fontemoing et cie, 1912), 51–52; Galinsky, *Aeneas*, 176–77, 185. Gruen (*Studies in Greek Culture*, 8–9 and 24–26) notes the similarity between the two incidents, and considers the importation of Venus Erycina important cultural and political background for the importation of Magna Mater. E. Stehle, "Venus, Cybele, and the Sabine Women: The Roman Construction of Female Sexuality," *Helios* 16 (1989): 143–63, offers an intriguing analysis of the parallel symbolic functions of the importations of the two goddesses.

[28] Cf. W. Fauth, "Römische Religion im Spiegel der 'Fasti' des Ovid," *ANRW* 2. 16. 1 (1978): 104–86, 157. On the history of this link between the Idaean mother and the Aeneas legend, see Graillot, *Culte de Cybèle*, 41–43; B. S. Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 94; P. Lambrechts, "Cybèle, divinité étrangère ou nationale?," *Bulletin de la société royale belge d'anthropologie et de préhistoire* 62 (1951): 44–60, esp. 49–55.

[29] The explicitness of Livy's rendition of the same oracle, which names the *mater Idaea* and even specifies her location (29.10.2) underlines the ambiguity of the *Fasti*'s oracle. Ovid's version might be inspired by the Delphic oracle of Liv. 1.56.10: *Imperium summum Romae habebit, qui vestrum primus, o iuvenes, osculum matri tulerit.* In this case, the outcome reveals that the earth was meant: *quod ea communis mater omnium mortalium esset* (1.56.12). Barchiesi (*The Poet and the Prince*, 195–96) discusses the play between this oracle and the Delian oracle of *Aen.* 3.96 advising Aeneas and his party to seek Italy: *antiquam exquirite matrem.* See also Porte, *Etiologie religieuse*, 158–60.

Romane, implies that the 'mother' to be sought is the mother of the Romans. The senate is baffled by the oracle, wondering what mother is missing (262); naturally, for Venus Erycina is already resident in the city, and Venus' role as mother of the Romans has already been mentioned in the proem of the book. Apollo's response explains that it is in fact the Mother of the Gods (263), not the mother of the Romans, who should be summoned, but the glance toward this other possibility has already taken place. When the embassy arrives in Phrygia to ask that Magna Mater be sent to Rome, King Attalus (after some supernatural encouragement) sends her off with the explanation, '*in Phrygios Roma refertur avos*' ['Rome is traced back to Phrygian ancestors'] (269–72), thus figuring the Romans' connection to Magna Mater's native Phrygia as genealogical. The Roman embassy's felling of trees on Mt. Ida to build boats for the return to Rome explicitly recalls Aeneas' flight from Troy: *protinus innumerae caedunt pineta secures/illa, quibus fugiens Phryx pius usus erat* [Right away countless axes fell those pines that the pious Phrygian used as he fled] (273–74).[30] This same flight from Mt. Ida has in fact already been mentioned in the proem as Ovid names a follower of Aeneas as the eponymous founder of his hometown of Sulmo: *huius erat Solimus Phrygia comes unus ab Ida,/a quo Sulmonis moenia nomen habent* [Solimus was one of [Aeneas'] companions from Phrygian Ida, and the walls of Sulmo are named for him] (79–80). In the *Aeneid*, of course, the boats built from Ida's pines come to the fore again in Book 9 as Turnus threatens to set them ablaze. At that point we learn that the pines were a gift from Magna Mater: '*has ego Dardanio iuveni, cum classis egeret,/laeta dedi*' ['I happily gave them to the Dardanian youth since he had no fleet'] (*Aen.* 9.98–99). This protective role connects Magna Mater to the very early origins of the Roman state. If she has no truly genealogical claim to the role of 'mother of the Romans,' the connection through Aeneas to the genealogy of the Roman race so carefully set out in the proem is clear. Thus even the role of mother of the Romans, which is well-established in the Greco-Roman mythology of Venus, is shared by another ancestral mother goddess in the month of April.[31]

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[30] Cf. D. H. 1.4.7; Ver. *Aen.* 3.5–6. Cf. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture*, 14–15.

[31] There is, in fact, some indication of a cultic relation between the two in statuary of Venus found in sanctuaries of Magna Mater: Lambrechts, "Cybèle," 55 and n. 3.

These intratextually connected passages emphasizing the role shared between Venus and Magna Mater show a pattern of composition that we will see recur in *Fasti* 4, whereby a narrative or rite described in detail for one goddess seems to stand in for a similar narrative or rite of another goddess. Rather than describing in detail the oracle that called for Venus Erycina, her journey to Rome and her reception into the city, Ovid simply refers back to the preceding narrative of Magna Mater's advent, repeating the bare bones of its structure.[32] This shorthand reference to a similar narrative thus serves a double purpose. It makes an interpretive point concerning the two rites: they have to do with one another and should be considered together. It also implies the compositional coherence of their shared place in the calendrical (and thus the literary) structure. The inclusion of the two rites within the same book-month, the proximity of the replayed narrative to the first is what allows this 'complementary composition' to work: the narrative of Magna Mater's advent sets the reader up for the less well known advent of Venus Erycina and both are already tied together by the proem's reference to Aeneas' flight from Mt. Ida.

Other less established aspects of the portrait of Venus in the proem are also shared among the goddesses of the month. We noted that in the proem, Venus' procreative power extends over the gods, not just as the power of sexual attraction,[33] but as the *creatrix*, the mother of the gods, an unprecedented role for Venus. Magna Mater, on the other hand, is quite legitimately claimed by Erato to have borne the gods (4.359). At least in her western Mediterranean instantiation, Cybele's position as mother of the gods is a central aspect of her cult.[34] Her cult title from the time of her introduction at Rome, *Magna Deum Mater Idaea*, closely paraphrased in Apollo's oracle (4.263–64), makes this position clear; Ovid also equates her with Rhea as the mother of the Olympian gods (4.197–214). Ovid takes pains to ensure that the reader notices that Magna Mater is sharing

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[32] Though Ovid's choice of which narrative to emphasize is perhaps influenced by the richness of his sources for the advent of Magna Mater, in particular Livy's detailed narrative (29.10.4–11.8 and 14.5–14), the *Fasti* amply demonstrates Ovid's capacity for creative expansion, so that the paucity of the Venus Erycina narrative is remarkable.

[33] Cf. *divumque voluptas* (Lucr. 1.1); ἥτε θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἵμερον ὦρσε (*h. Aph.* 2).

[34] L. E. Roller, *In Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), esp. 169–74.

this role with Venus Genetrix, making Claudia Quinta pray to the newly received goddess as '*alma . . . genetrix fecunda deorum*' (4.319), recalling once more the *alma genetrix* of Book 4's proem.

We also noted above the oddity of the proem's attribution to Venus of creative power over trees and crops: *illa satis causas arboribusque dedit . . .* (96). The closely connected Italic goddesses Tellus and Ceres[35] emerge as the most legitimate vegetative mothers in *Fasti* 4: a common sacrifice is made to the two at the Feriae Sementivae, the sowing festival in late January (1.657–704), and their two chief festivals (the Fordicidia for Tellus, and the Cerealia for Ceres) are close together in the month of April. In the *Fasti*, in fact, the Fordicidia (4.628–72) is positioned between Ovid's treatment of the *ludi Ceriales* and the Cerealia proper. In Book 1, in his entry for the Feriae Sementivae, Ovid described the relationship between the two goddesses:

placentur frugum matres, Tellusque Ceresque,
farre suo gravidae visceribusque suis:
officium commune Ceres et Terra tuentur;
haec praebet causam frugibus, illa locum.

[The mothers of grain, Tellus and Ceres, are satisfied by their own spelt and the entrails of a pregnant sow; Ceres and Terra look over a shared concern: the one provides grain with an origin, the other with a place.]

(1.671–74)

Both are 'mothers of grain.' Tellus offers a place for grain to grow; Ovid's treatment of a similar sacrifice of a pregnant cow to Tellus at the Fordicidia figures the goddess as the "pregnant" earth: *nunc gravidum pecus est, gravidae quoque semine terrae:/Telluri plenae victima plena datur* [Now the herd is pregnant, and the earth too is pregnant with seed: a full victim is given to a full Tellus] (4.633–34). Ceres, on the other hand, causes grain to grow. Ovid's description of Ceres' role in agriculture is a precise parallel to that of Venus: the *Fasti*'s Venus, like Ceres, gives *causae* to crops.

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[35] For the relationship between the two, see H. Le Bonniec, *Le Culte de Cérès à Rome des origines à la fin de la République* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1958), 48–107; Spaeth, *Ceres*, 34–36. Though Ceres is clearly the more important goddess in the historical period, Le Bonniec advances the evidence that Ceres was originally an attribute of Tellus, deriving from *crescere/creare* and embodying the generative power of the earth; her historical, hellenized identification with Demeter translates this power into her dominion over grain.

We have already noted the close relationship between Tellus and Ceres. Ovid's treatment of Tellus' Fordicidia also weaves a complex web of association between that festival and the Parilia of April 21, dedicated to the protectress of the flocks, Pales.[36] The connection is played out in the rite (and in the *Fasti*) by the use of the ashes of the calf cut from the womb of the Fordicidia's sacrificial cow in the ritual purgations of the Parilia; the ritual link is marked explicitly in the Fordicidia passage: *igne cremat vitulos quae natu maxima Virgo est,/luce Palis populos purget ut ille cinis* [The eldest Vestal Virgin cremates the calf so that the ash can purify the people on Pales' day] (4.639–40); and referred to in the Parilia section as well (4.725, 733).[37] The meaning of this ritual connection is suggested by Ovid's insistence in the Fordicidia passage on the cohesion of vegetal and animal fertility: a pregnant cow is sacrificed to the pregnant earth; the rite was initiated in response to a general failure of both crops and flocks (4.641–48) and resulted in a renewed fecundity of the earth and domestic animals (671–72). This intertwinement of fertile crops and fertile flocks in Ovid's representation of the Fordicidia serves as an interpretation of the real ritual connection between the two rites: why were the ashes of the Fordicidia's sacrificial calf used at the Parilia? Because Tellus also has to do with the well-being of livestock.

Ovid's portrait of Pales makes the connection between her and Tellus at a different level, casting Pales as yet another mother goddess. On the one hand, the simple assertion that Pales is a *goddess* is telling: the gender of the deity was uncertain for the Romans; Varro makes the god masculine (Serv. *Geo.* 3.1), and the *Fasti Antiates Maiores* refer to "the two Pales." But for Ovid Pales is not just a goddess; she is also *alma* (722–23).[38] We have seen the significance of the epithet in

[36] Comparative religious studies suggest that the Parilia originally also had to do with vegetal fertility: W. W. Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic* (London: Macmillan, 1908), 83.

[37] Though the *Fasti* is the only evidence for the ritual connection, it is surely to be accepted as genuine. As Scheid has observed ("Myth, Cult and Reality," 125), adherence to cult evidence is one of the few limits to the Roman practice of exegesis. In this case in particular, the purgative *suffimen* of which the ashes were an ingredient would have been well known, as it was acquired from the Vestals by the participants in the sacrifice.

[38] Ovid makes the same choice for the deity of the Robigalia of April 25, calling her the goddess Robigo, rather than the god Robigus (4.907, 911). There, however, the goddess is not made a mother/protector—it would have been a stretch

Book 4, and Ovid's choice here seems particularly deliberate—the epithet is applied to Pales only here in the extant literature. Just as the Fordicidia was perhaps 'adjusted' to connect more easily to the shepherds' festival of the Parilia, Pales is being molded to her poetic surroundings, constructed to fit more closely into the growing set of agricultural goddesses to which ritual connections indicate she belongs.

The Cerealia, the Fordicidia, and the Parilia in fact are part of an important cycle of agricultural festivals that also includes the Vinalia, Robigalia, and Floralia, all in the latter half of April.[39] All of these but the Floralia (which likely originated in a movable feast) appear in the pre-Julian *Fasti Antiates* in the large letters that characterize the calendar's oldest festivals. J. Bayet has gone farthest in cataloguing instances of the unity of intentions and similarities in cultic practice among these festivals, and has suggested that this ancient agricultural concentration in the latter half of April also exerted an influence on the sorts of festivals added to the month in later years.[40] If, as Bayet suggested, the strong pull of this cycle of festivals affected the conceptual nature of the month of April, we should not be surprised to find it also exerting an influence on Ovid's proemic figure of Venus, his *propositum* for the month. We have, for example, already seen how Venus' identification as the generative source of trees and crops is likely a feature borrowed from Ceres and Tellus.

While we noted previously that Ovid owes to Lucretius the topos of Venus as the force of attraction that brings animals together to mate, the *Fasti*'s treatment of the Parilia might ask us to rethink the significance of Venus' role as *creatrix* of animals. Ovid's address to Pales at the start of the passage unmistakably recalls his opening invocation of Venus. Ovid asks for both goddesses' favor in his poetic enterprise with closely parallel language: '*Alma, fave* . . .' (4.1), *alma*

to make the personification of grain-rot an *alma mater*. Rather, she is *aspera* (911) and *timenda* (919). Nonetheless, she is clearly part of the agricultural cycle to which so many of our *almae matres* belong, as Ovid's naming the grain *Ceres* (917, 932) in the flamen's prayer to Robigo might serve to indicate. Cf. Fantham, "Ceres, Liber, and Flora," 49–50, on Ovid's depiction of Robigo.

[39] On this cycle, see Le Bonniec, *Cérès*, 111–12; J. Bayet, "Les 'Cerealia': Altération d'un culte latin par le mythe grec," *RBPh* 29 (1951): 5–32, esp. 11–17.

[40] Bayet, "'Cerealia,'" 12 and n. 1. Below I address Ovid's treatment of one case of this integration of a later cult, the addition of Magna Mater in 204 B.C.E.

Pales, faveas . . . (4.723).[41] Ovid's appeal to Venus for patronage is based on a long-standing relationship and on her past patronage: '*saucius an sanus numquid tua signa reliqui?/tu mihi propositum, tu mihi semper opus*' ['Wounded or whole, have I ever deserted your standards? You are my topic, you are always my work'] (7–8); his appeal to Pales pretends the same: *certe ego de vitulo cinerem stipulasque fabales/saepe tuli plena, februa tosta, manu:/certe ego transilui positas ter in ordine flammas* [Surely I have often carried the calf's ashes and bean straw, the burnt purifying charm, my hands full; surely I have leapt three times in a row over the lit fire] (725–28). In both cases, the goddess is moved (*mota* [15, 729]), and gives her blessing to the poet's *opus* (16, 729); the poet then turns to a sailing metaphor, representing the goddess' approval as wind in his sails (18, 729–30). The invocation of Pales thus calls us back to the proemic Venus, reminding us that she too had a role in the fertility of the flocks. The shepherd prays to Pales, among other things: '*sitque salax aries, conceptaque semina coniunx/reddat, et in stabulo multa sit agna meo*' ['Let the ram be randy, and let his mate deliver the offspring conceived, and let there be many lambs in my fold'] (771–72); but the proem has already told us that it is Venus who accomplishes the union of ram and ewe: *nec coeant pecudes, si levis absit amor./cum mare trux aries cornu decertat, at idem/frontem dilectae laedere parcit ovis* [Nor would the sheep come together if there gentle love weren't present. With males the savage ram battles horn-to-horn; but the same ram refrains from hurting the brow of his beloved ewe] (100–102). Venus has no real ritual connection to the Parilia, but her role in *Fasti* 4 as a personification of the connections among the goddesses of the month requires that her influence extend over Pales' sphere: just as Pales is connected in ritual to Tellus and Tellus to Ceres, all three goddess are also connected to one another by the proemic portrait of a Venus whose domain includes those of all three.

The influence of the book/month structure can also draw literary material into the poem that might seem extraneous to Ovid's calendrical structure. Though Ceres' chief role in Roman ritual is as *frugum mater*, the most extensive section on the goddess in the *Fasti* casts her in a very different mother role, narrating the Greek myth of the rape of Proserpina and Ceres' search for her daughter

[41] Noted by Green, "Varro's Three Theologies," 90; Fantham, *Fasti IV*, ad loc.

(4.420–620).[42] The narrative has no ritual role in the Cerealia[43] but it fits right in to the theme of motherhood and generative power that is laid out in Ovid's didactic *propositum*, the portrait of Venus in the proem. Motherhood is emphasized again and again in the narrative: the setting for the rape is a dinner party thrown by Arethusa for the *caelestum matres* (423); Proserpina calls out *'io, carissima mater!'* ['Oh, dearest mother!] as she is carried away (447); Ceres calls for her daughter, but Proserpina does not hear her mother (*nec filia matrem/audit* [485–86]). Ovid's comparison of Ceres to a mother cow whose calf has been torn from her udder (459–60) may even point forward to the sacrifice of a pregnant cow at the Fordicidia (637). The narrative continues with Ceres' visit to the family of the infant Triptolemus in Eleusis, casting her again in a maternal role. She is stirred from her solitary grief when Triptolemus' sister addresses her as 'mother': *'mater' ait virgo (mota est dea nomine matris)* ['Mother,' says the girl (the goddess was moved by the name of mother)] (513);[44] she fosters the ailing Triptolemus, breathing new life into him (540–42), feeding him (547–48), taking him to her breast (550).[45] This image of Ceres as a very human foster mother extends her figurative role as mother of grain to a very literal and physical motherhood and nurturing. While the narrative is perhaps foreign to the Cerealia, it is quite appropriate to Ovid's refiguring of the month of April, which subsumes the various generative roles of the month's goddesses under the heading of *alma Venus*, drawing together the multiple meanings of *alma*.

The construction of connections among these mother goddesses and the organization of these connections in the person of Venus in

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[42] The narrative, and its relationship in generic terms to Ovid's version of the same story in the *Metamorphoses* has been admirably discussed by Hinds, *Metamorphosis*, answering to the earlier treatment by R. Heinze, "Ovids Elegische Erzählung," 308–403 in *Vom Geist des Römertums: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. E. Burck (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1960).

[43] The story is ironically introduced with a pretension to calendrical necessity (*Exigit ipse locus raptus ut virginis edam* [417]) noted by Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 75–76. Spaeth notes that the story would be more appropriate to the Roman *initia Cereris*, a matron's cult celebrated in August and based on the Thesmophoric cult of Demeter, but apparently blended in the Augustan period with the elements of the Eleusinian mysteries (Spaeth, *Ceres*, 20–21, 59–60).

[44] We might also remember that both Venus and Pales were 'moved' when the poet addressed them as *alma*.

[45] For the translation of the image of Demeter Kourotrophos to Rome, and Ceres' connection with human fertility, see Spaeth, *Ceres*, 42–44.

the proem begs comparison with the enigmatic mother-figure on the south-east panel of the Ara Pacis, and in particular with K. Galinsky's discussion of this figure.[46] The goddess has been variously identified over the years with Ceres, Tellus, Pax, Venus, Italia, and others. The iconography of the seated figure, which includes two babies and fruit on her lap, a crown of fruits and grain, poppies and wheat in the background, a seat on a rocky throne, various vegetation and animals (a cow or ox, a sheep, a water bird), and two secondary female figures who flank her, one seated on a swan or goose in flight, the other, on a sea-monster, is complex and without close parallels. While I will not offer a re-interpretation of the relief, my reading of the role of the Venus proem in Book 4 lends credence to Galinsky's excellent discussion of the Ara Pacis figure. While Galinsky tends towards an identification of the figure with Venus, he does not insist on it; instead, he reads the relief as deliberately polysemous, sharing traits of a variety of ideologically important goddesses, including Venus, Ceres, and Tellus. The dynastic dimension of the rest of the Ara Pacis reliefs give another set of meanings to the figure. By requiring the active participation of the viewer in the interpretation of this composite mother goddess, the relief draws its audience into the ideology it serves.

Ovid's creation of a Venus who is mother of the Julian house, mother of the Romans, mother of the gods, and mother of animals and plants, sharing traits of a variety of goddesses celebrated in April, might almost serve as his reading of the Ara Pacis figure. While Venus provides a coherent figure around which the book is organized, she requires the presence of the other goddesses of the month to make sense. The proem asks its readers to look at Venus and inquire into her meaning as a *propositum* for a didactic book; it is precisely her polysemous nature that allows Ovid's Venus to be *celeberrima* in her month.

If the Venus proem is one poetic device for embodying and creating connections between the goddesses of Book 4, it is not the only one. The body of Book 4 continues to knit together April's goddess, their rites and causes. Poetic strategies of intratextual allusion, recurring topoi, parallel structures, references back to the proem, and the

[46] K. Galinsky, "Venus, Polysemy, and the Ara Pacis Augustae," *AJA* 96 (1992): 457–75, with bibliography there (esp. n. 2); on polysemy as a central characteristic of Augustan culture, see Galinsky, *Augustan Culture, passim.*

principle of 'complementary composition' observed in relation to Magna Mater and Venus Erycina combine to perform historical associations between goddesses and create ahistorical ones, and simultaneously provide a unity of composition to Ovid's representation of April.

Venus Verticordia and Fortuna Virilis

Our first pair represents a special case in relation to the calendrical model, as the rites of both goddesses fall on the same day, April 1. This calendrical situation is quite common and becomes more so as commemorations of imperial anniversaries are added to the Julian calendar (see below, Chapter 4), however this pair of goddesses offers a much older example of the phenomenon—the rite of Venus Verticordia dates to the third century B.C.E.,[47] while the beginnings of the cult of Fortuna Virilis are lost to us. As we will see, the rites of the two goddesses are inextricably entangled with one another in the tradition. Two possible interpretations of the calendrical coincidence of the festivals of the goddesses and the apparent cultic relationship between them present themselves: 1) The two cults are at base related in purpose and meaning and the coincidence of their dates expresses that relationship; 2) The two cults were originally unrelated and the coincidence of their dates caused them to be interpreted in relation to one another. Modern scholarship, though in general consensus that the two rites were related, is divided as to whether Venus or Fortuna was the original honoree of the festival, who took part in what rite, and what the rite(s) meant.[48] The present study will not resolve these questions, but will examine the *Fasti*'s play with the blurring of the two cults, which, one way or the other, has everything to do with their sharing of a calendrical space. A

[47] And may have replaced an older cult of Venus on the same day: Bömer, ad *Fast.* 4.133.

[48] U. Pestalozza, "Veneralia," *SMSR* 8 (1932): 176–88, and Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 68 see Fortuna Virilis as the original dedicatee, and think the rite was at base a fertility ritual. Schilling, *Vénus*, 389–95, and C. Floratos, "Veneralia," *Hermes* 88 (1960): 197–216 see Venus as the primary goddess in the rite. See also, Bömer, ad *Fast.* 4.145; Otto, *RE* 7.1, col. 22, *s.v.* "Fortuna"; E. Fantham, "The *Fasti* as a Source for Women's Participation in Roman Cult," in *Ovid's* Fasti*: Historical Readings at its Bimillenium*, ed. G. Herbert-Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 23–46, esp. 34–37 and *Fasti IV, ad* 4.133–64. The name 'Veneralia' given to the day is late, and thus does not indicate Venus' priority.

brief description of the two cults from sources external to Ovid will serve us well in our reading of Ovid's treatment.

The primary cultic celebration of Venus Verticordia took place on April 1, and was a festival either of women in general or of the matrons alone, involving a sacrifice and a ritual bath.[49] Livy seems to have associated the founding of the goddess' temple in 114 B.C.E. with the expiation of the adultery of three Vestal virgins.[50] Other sources report that a cult statue of the goddess was dedicated about one hundred years earlier by Sulpicia, the wife of Q. Fulvius Flaccus, in response to a Sibylline oracle; Sulpicia was chosen as the best of the Roman matrons in order to perform this service.[51] In both sets of stories, the cult is intended to insure the chastity of Roman women and the goddess' cult title is explained by her purpose: *quo facilius virginum mulierumque mens a libidine ad pudicitiam converteretur* [so that the minds of maidens and women would be more easily turned from lust to chastity] (Val. Max. 8.15.12).

The Augustan *Fasti Praenestini*, based on the research of the Augustan scholar Verrius Flaccus, attribute a ritual offering in the bath on April 1 to the cult of Fortuna Virilis, making a division of the women who performed the offering along status lines: *Frequenter mulieres supplicant Fortunae virili; humiliores etiam in balineis quod in iis ea parte corpor[is] utique viri nudant qua feminarum gratia desideratur* [In great numbers women supplicate Fortuna Virilis; the lower class women also [supplicate her] in the baths because in them men at least are nude in that part of the body in which women's beauty is desired].[52] Plutarch

[49] Plu. *Num.* 19: δεύτερον δὲ τὸν Ἀπρίλλον, ἐπώνυμον ὄντα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἐν ᾧ θύουσι τε τῇ θεῇ καὶ ταῖς καλάνδαις αἱ γυναῖκες ἐστεφανωμέναι μυρσίνῃ λούονται. Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.15, with reference to Verrius Flaccus: *matronae Veneri sacrum facerent.* Both give the date as the kalends of April.

[50] Julius Obsequens 37 (97) gives the entire story. Liv. *Per.* 63 and Orosius 5.15.22 give us the story of the Vestals' adultery, but without mention of the temple. On Obsequens' use of Livy, see Fiehn, *RE* 17.2, col. 1744, *s.v.* "Obsequens," 2.

[51] V. Max. 8.15.12, Plin. *N.H.* 7.35.120, Solinus 1.126.

[52] Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 126–27 and discussion on 434. Both epigraphic economy of expression and euphemism make the causal clause difficult to understand, despite the clarity of its syntax. The standard translation is something like: "because in them men bare the part of the body by which the favor of women is sought" (cf. Frazer, *Fasti*, vol. 3, 190; Pestalozza, "Veneralia," 177; Floratos, "Veneralia," 202–20). This translation either ignores the adverb *utique* or, as Floratos explains, takes it as an "*adverbium affirmandi*," the equivalent of *certe. Utique* can also function, however, to restrict or qualify the meaning of a verb, implying possible exceptions or objections: *OLD*, *s.v.* "utique," 4–5. Here, the *utique* is quite pointed and is part of the euphemism of the passage: the inscription avoids discussing naked women

dates a temple to Fortuna Virilis, along with several others to Fortune in various guises, to the reign of Servius Tullius,[53] but any inclusion of baths in the rite is unlikely to belong to a period before the earliest public baths in the second century B.C.E.[54] Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells of another altar of Fortuna set up by Servius Tullius in a precinct of Venus, which also indicates the close relationship between the two goddesses.[55]

The sixth-century antiquarian Johannes Lydus focuses exclusively on Venus, but makes the division along status lines we found in Verrius Flaccus' account of the rites of Fortuna Virilis: αἱ σεμναὶ γυναικῶν ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας καὶ βίου σώφρονος ἐτίμων τήν Ἀφροδίτην· αἱ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους γυναῖκες ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν βαλανείοις ἐλούοντο πρός θεραπείαν αὐτῆς μυρσίνῃ ἐστεμμέναι [The noble women pay honors to Venus for concord and chaste life; women of the masses bathe in the men's baths crowned with myrtle for the worship of the same goddess] (*de mens.* 4.45). Though some details of Lydus' account are shared with Plutarch (i.e., Venus as honoree and the myrtle crowns), the structure of his account might seem to depend on Verrius Flaccus. Mommsen in fact used Lydus' account to correct the *Fasti Praenestini*, surmising that some four words had been omitted in the epitomization of Verrius Flaccus' longer work on the calendar. Thus, Verrius would have written: *frequenter mulieres supplicant honestiores Veneri Verticordiae, Fortunae Virili humiliores. . . .*[56] Once

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and thus says that men at least (who knows about women?) are naked in the baths. I confess to taking my lead in interpreting the relative clause (*qua . . . desideratur*) from Ovid, and thus leaving myself open to charges of circular reasoning. However, considering the dependence of both the *Fasti Praenestini* and Ovid's *Fasti* on Verrius Flaccus' more extended commentary on the calendar, we should expect the two to reflect a similar cause for this rite. By my translation, "that part of the body in which women's beauty is desired," I mean to imply, "that part of the body in which women want to be beautiful." Again, the inscription is studiously avoiding saying that women want to be desirable in their naked bodies, and thus uses a vague genitive and a passive verb to introduce women into the etiology of the rite they perform. Ovid is more direct.

[53] *Rom. quaest.* 281e, *Fort. Rom.* 322f. The similarity of name between this cult and that of Fortuna Muliebris leads to speculation of some connection, but no solid parallels between the two cults have been found. See G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Beck, 1902), 208.

[54] K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich: Beck, 1960), 181 and n. 3; G. Fagan, *Bathing in Public in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 41–74 traces the growth of "the bathing habit" in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E.

[55] D. H. 4.27.7.

[56] Mommsen, *CIL* I.1^2, 390. The fragment of Verrius Flaccus from Macrobius

widely accepted, Mommsen's supplement has in more recent years met with more skepticism: it does not explain Lydus' neglect of Fortuna Virilis, and in addition Lydus continues with a list of etiologies that seems independent of both Verrius Flaccus and Ovid.[57] We must, it seems, accept that our sources conflict, attributing similar rites to two different goddesses, with some confusion as to the status of the women who took part.

Ovid's account of April 1 matches in many cultic details with our other sources. Ovid agrees with Plutarch and Lydus that the devotees of Venus Verticordia bathed crowned with myrtle: *vos quoque sub viridi myrto iubet ipsa lavari* (*Fast.* 4.190). His description of the worship of Fortuna Virilis in the baths and the reasoning behind it are quite close to that found in the *Fasti Praenestini*:

discite nunc, quare Fortunae tura Virili
detis eo, gelida qui locus umet aqua.
accipit ille locus posito velamine cunctas
et vitium nudi corporis omne videt;
ut tegat hoc celetque viros, Fortuna Virilis
praestat et hoc parvo ture rogata facit.

[Learn now why you give incense to Fortuna Virilis in that place damp with cold water. That place receives the women all together with their clothing removed and sees every fault of their naked bodies; Fortuna Virilis is in charge of covering faults and concealing them from men and does so if asked with a little bit of incense.]

(4.145–50)

Other details are attested only by Ovid: the cult statue of Venus Verticordia is bathed (135–38); the women drink a mixture of poppy, milk and honey in honor of Venus Verticordia (151–54). A reduction of the passage to its ritual details, however, does little for our understanding of either the cult or Ovid's treatment of it. An approach is needed which acknowledges the compositional whole of the passage.

The passage begins with an address to the women and what seems deliberate ambiguity as to the goddess in question: *Rite deam colitis* [You worship the goddess according to custom] (133). This passage

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cited above (Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.15) lends some support to such a conjecture. Though we are unsure of Lydus' sources in Book 4 of his *de mensibus*, the structure of Books 2 and 3 is traceable through Macrobius and Censorinus to Suetonius' *De anno Romanorum* (Klotz, *RE* vol. 26, col. 2211, *s.v.* "Ioannes Laurentius Lydos").

[57] Floratos, "Veneralia," 201–2. Degrassi (*Insc. It.* 13.2, 434) rejects the supplement; Fantham (*Fasti IV*, 116) objects to it on stylistic grounds.

directly follows the Venus proem, so that she is the most obvious referent of *dea*; a reader without the benefit of modern editorial conventions might think the proem was still in progress until explicit ritual directions begin in the following lines.[58] Nonetheless, the goddess goes unnamed for the first twelve lines of the section, describing the *lavatio* of the cult statue and the bath of the participants. She is identifiable as Venus only by her roses and myrtle (138–39), and by the hair-drying pose characteristic of the Aphrodite Anadyomene statue type (*litore siccabat rorantes nuda capillos* [Naked on the shore, she was drying her dripping hair] [141]). Nonetheless, when we finally find a name, it is not Venus Verticordia, but Fortuna Virilis (see lines 145–50, above). Though the didactic connector *discite nunc* signals a change of subject, the topic in many senses stays the same. We are still concerned with women worshipping a goddess in the baths. Both rites have female nudity and its concealment in their aetia: Venus used myrtle to conceal herself from satyrs as she emerged from her bath (*opposita texit sua corpora myrto* [143]), and asks her worshippers to do the same; an offering to Fortuna Virilis in the baths will ensure that she conceals women's bodily faults (*vitium nudi corporis omne* [149]) from men (*ut tegat hoc celetque viros* [150]). The repetition of vocabulary and of setting can only serve to connect the two rites over the boundary of the didactic break. Ovid then returns, with no explicit transition, to Venus Verticordia, giving an aetion for the ritual drink of milk, poppy and honey that refers to Venus' wedding night, and at last naming Venus (153). Finally, Ovid calls for a *supplicatio* to Venus for *forma* (cf. Fortuna Virilis' role, above) *et mores et bona fama* [beauty and morals and good reputation] (156), which he follows at long last with the story of Venus Verticordia's introduction to the city, paraphrasing the goddess' cult title: *templa iubet fieri Veneri, quibus ordine factis/inde Venus verso nomina corde tenet* [[the Sibyl] ordered that a temple to Venus be built, which was consequently done, and thence Venus has her epithet from [the women's] converted hearts] (4.159–60). The structure of the account, with its nearly imperceptible transition from the proem, its centering of Fortuna Virilis between pairs of ritual details and aetia that refer to Venus Verticordia, its repetition of ideas and vocabulary in the aetia

[58] Plut. *Num.* 19.2 closely links the naming of April for Venus with this rite on the kalends of the month, so that in a certain sense this is a continuation of the proem, which asserted that April was named for Venus.

of the two cults, and its delay of the cult name of Venus Verticordia, makes the two goddesses and their cults inextricable from one another, and links them closely to the Venus of the proem.

Proceeding through the passage a second time, with an eye to the participants, we find quite similar strategies of blurring. We saw above that the social status of participants in the cults of April 1 was a concern for Verrius Flaccus and Lydus; the tradition in which the Romans chose an exemplary matron to dedicate the first statue of Venus Verticordia expresses a related concern about status. Ovid's first address to the participants brings these questions immediately to the fore as the participants in the cult are named in three groups: *Latiae matresque nurusque/et vos, quis vittae longaque vestis abest* [Latin mothers and brides and you who lack the fillets and the long dress] (4.133–34). The closely linked mothers and brides, connected by the repeated particle *-que* and contained by the hexameter, do stand in some sense separate from the third group, who by themselves fill out the pentameter. Clothing is the marker of differentiation between these two sets of women—Roman prostitutes were forbidden to wear the hairstyle and clothes of the Roman matron, and dressed instead in a short tunic and toga.[59] Logically, the *meretrices* have no part in the *pudicitia* which Venus Verticordia encourages, so that, we might think, we are surely speaking of two status groups that will participate in two different cults. The ritual directions, which follow, however, make no such differentiation: imperatives are addressed to the group as a whole throughout, both in the rituals that Ovid seems to assign to Venus, and in the incense offering in the baths to Fortuna Virilis. The latter ritual in fact expressly includes all the women and removes the clothing which Ovid had used as a mark of distinction: *accipit ille locus posito velamine cunctas* [that place receives them all together with their coverings removed](4.147). Logically, the bath in honor of Venus would also necessitate removal of the visual markers of status. The poem lays out differentiated status groups, only to blur them as the rite progresses.[60]

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[59] See Bömer ad *Fast.* 4.134; J. L. Sebesta, "Symbolism in the costume of the Roman Woman," in *The World of Roman Costume*, edd. J. L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 46–53, esp. 53 n. 50. Cf. Ovid, *Ars* 1.31–32.

[60] Cf. Floratos, "Veneralia," 198–99; Fantham, *Fasti IV*, 116 and "Women's Participation," 35–37.

The concern with the status of participants is also reflected in Ovid's story of Venus' marriage, which serves as an *aetion* for the ritual sedative drink of poppy, milk and honey:[61]

nec pigeat tritum niveo cum lacte papaver
sumere et expressis mella liquata favis;
cum primum cupido Venus est deducta marito,
hoc bibit: ex illo tempore nupta fuit.

[Nor should you be ashamed to drink poppy crushed with white milk and honey strained from pressed combs; when Venus was first led to her desirous husband, she drank this: from that time she was a bride.] (4.151–54)

Porte has recently argued that these lines represent an aetion for a Roman marriage custom, with no place in the rites of Venus Verticordia beyond the associative connection with Venus.[62] Whether the aetion properly belongs to this cult or not, its serves as another source of ambiguity in social and erotic status in Ovid's representation of the cults of April 1. First, the *aetion* itself narrates a transition of status from virgin to bride. Further, the irony of Venus as a shy virgin bride is surely not lost on Ovid—he is again blurring the categories of *meretrix* and matron. The inclusion of an erotic aetion for a rite purported to belong to a goddess of *pudicitia* complicates matters still further—Porte has argued that the original motivation for the cult of Venus Verticordia was to stop the goddess from turning the heads (and hearts) of Roman women to erotic pursuits, i.e., Verticordia was originally a negative epithet and her rites were apotropaic. This may be going too far, but the ambiguity of Ovid's representation questions the sharp distinction between the two goddesses whose rites were celebrated on April 1, and between the classes of women who are supposed to have participated in each rite.

The deliberateness of this problematic presentation of the women's status is underlined by the fact that the *Fasti*'s emphasis on the presence of prostitutes at the rites of April 1 seems to be Ovid's own. The *Fasti Praenestini* refers to *mulieres . . . humiliores*, and Lydus to αἱ δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους γυναῖκες; neither phrase is likely to mean prostitutes, but rather to make a distinction between women of the upper census classes and those of the lower. Ovid's invocation of prostitutes

[61] See Schilling, *Vénus*, 226–33 and Pestalozza, "Veneralia," 179–80.
[62] Porte, *Etiologie religieuse*, 458–60.

in the same breath as the matrons and young brides of Rome is striking, and can only call attention to the blurring of these categories later in the passage. The use of class distinction to define the relationship between Venus Verticordia and Fortuna Virilis does not work in the *Fasti*, and that may be precisely the point. Whether or not the two goddesses' rites were originally separated by class and whether or not such a separation developed later, Ovid's reading of the shared calendrical space that the two share makes them inextricable from one another.

Venus Verticordia and Venus Erycina

The presence of the prostitutes at the rites of April 1 also provides a link to the other festival of Venus in Book 4, the *dies natalis* on April 23 of the temple of Venus Erycina, whose advent story we have already discussed above:

numina, volgares, Veneris celebrate, puellae:
multa professarum quaestibus apta Venus.
poscite ture dato formam populique favorem,
poscite blanditias dignaque verba ioco;
cumque sua dominae date grata sisymbria myrto
tectaque composita iuncea vincla rosa.

[You common girls, celebrate the godhead of Venus: a lot of 'Venus' is well-suited to working girls' profits. Ask for beauty and popularity with a gift of incense, and ask for sweet nothings and words worth a laugh; and along with her own myrtle, give your mistress pleasing mint and chains of reed covered with arranged roses.]

(4.865–70)

A festival of prostitutes on this day is also attested by the *Fasti Praenestini*.[63] Ovid associates the celebration with the temple of Venus Erycina outside the Colline gate (4.871) founded in 181 B.C.E.;[64] the Sicilian cult of the goddess, linked to the Phoenician Astarte, included temple prostitution, so that a continued association of the goddess with prostitutes is not surprising.[65] Ovid's narration of the prostitutes' festival has significant resonances with his earlier narration of the rites of Venus Verticordia and Fortuna Virilis. These rites, like

[63] At Apr. 25: *Festus est pu[e]rorum lenoniorum quia proximus superior mer[e]tricum est.*
[64] Liv. 40.34.4.
[65] Schilling, *Vénus*, 237–38.

the 'chaste' rites of Venus Verticordia, include myrtle and roses; they include a gift of incense, a parallel to the offering to Fortuna Virilis in the bath, and finally a supplication for womanly virtues. The women in the earlier passage asked for *forma et mores et bona fama* (4.156) from Venus; these women start off with similar requests: *formam populique favorem . . . blanditias dignaque verba ioco* (4.867–68). Even if we had missed the ambiguity of the earlier rites, we must wonder when the same goddess is supplicated for good reputation on the first of the month, and for popular favor near the end!

The presence of prostitutes in Ovid's treatment of April 1, therefore, both plays a role in the poet's examination of the relationship between Venus Verticordia and Fortuna Virilis, and also functions as a sign of the connection of those rites with Venus Erycina; the presence of prostitutes at the rites of Venus Erycina, on the other hand, recalls at the end of the book the ambiguities of meaning in the earlier rite. These two rites of Venus and the resonances between them, beginning and nearly ending as they do Venus' month,[66] must be read under the heading provided by the proem's careful reconstruction of the Venus of Ovid's amatory elegy to fit his new project. Can the goddess be simultaneously the mother of Aeneas, the Julians, and the Romans, and the mother of the twin loves? Can she be invoked by both Roman matrons and prostitutes? The reality is that Venus retains her erotic associations along with her national ones; Ovid's rendition of the cults of Venus in April draws attention to the impossibility of disassociating the two by linking both to the Venus of the proem.

Venus Verticordia and Magna Mater

The reference in *Fasti* 4.133–62 to Callimachus' Bath of Pallas in Hymn 5 has long been recognized.[67] Features of structure, style, and content of the Callimachean hymn are repeated throughout Ovid's account of April 1, but most clearly so in the *lavatio*, the washing of the cult statue of Venus Verticordia. Nonetheless, while clearly echoing the Callimachus passage, the *lavatio* of the cult statue also has

[66] On this bracketing function, see Fauth, "Römische Religion im Spiegel," 153–54; Braun, "Kompositionskunst," 2360.

[67] Floratos, "Veneralia," 208–16; J. F. Miller, "Ritual Directions in Ovid's *Fasti:* Dramatic Hymns and Didactic Poetry," *CJ* 75 (1980): 204–14, esp. 210–14.

significant ritual resonances with another section of Book 4, the *lavatio* of the cult statue of Magna Mater:

est locus in Tiberim qua lubricus influit Almo
et nomen magno perdit in amne minor:
illic purpurea canus cum veste sacerdos
Almonis dominam sacraque lavit aquis.

[There is a place where the gliding Almo flows into the Tiber and the name of the lesser river is lost in the big one: there a gray-haired priest in a scarlet robe washed the Mistress and her sacred objects in the water of the Almo.]

(4.337–40)

Like Ovid's account of the rites of April 1, this passage is notoriously troublesome. It seems to be an *aetion* for the yearly ritual in which the black rock imported in 204 B.C.E. from Phrygia as the embodiment of the goddess was washed in the river Almo. The ritual is nowhere else attested, however, until the reign of Claudius, where it forms a part of the Phrygian festivals, and is placed on March 27.[68] The narrative date in Ovid is April 4, the date of Magna Mater's advent to Rome. Because of Ovid's detailed description, his correct identification of the Claudian site of the ceremony, and a reference by Ammianus Marcellinus to the ceremony as accomplished *prisco more* (23.3.7), Porte argues that the *lavatio* in fact dates from 204, whether celebrated on the earlier date or the later.[69] In addition, she refers to the *lavatio* of the statue of Venus Verticordia to prove the acceptability of this sort of rite in late third- or early second-century Rome.[70]

If drawing connections between rites to unify the poetic book is one concern of the *Fasti*, the fact that the sole evidence for both rites comes from Book 4 problematizes Porte's argument. Is it possible that one cult is influencing the other in Ovid's treatment? If so, in which direction does the influence run? I do not necessarily wish to suggest that Ovid has manufactured either *lavatio*, but he has perhaps, seeing a similarity in the cults of the two goddesses, played up the role of one or both rites in order to reinforce that similarity. The *lavatio* of Venus Verticordia is not attested at all elsewhere, and

[68] See Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 432.

[69] D. Porte, "Claudia Quinta et le problème de la *lavatio* de Cybèle en 204 av. J.-C.," *Klio* 66 (1984): 93–103. Cf. also Latte, *Religionsgeschichte*, 261.

[70] Porte, "Claudia Quinta," 102.

that of Magna Mater not for another forty years. However, the detail is precise in the Magna Mater passage, and matches with later known practice, whereas in the Venus Verticordia *lavatio*, the ritual directions are extremely general and clearly based on the Callimachean model. In addition, because of its exclusion of men, Ovid may have known little about the women's cult of April 1.[71] If a manipulation of ritual description has taken place, the influence almost certainly runs from the Magna Mater passage to the Venus Verticordia one. But why? In the case of the cults of Venus Verticordia and Fortuna Virilis, the calendrical coincidence of the dates of celebration can be seen either to express or to motivate the sorts of connections Ovid makes. The poem's connections between Venus Verticordia and Venus Erycina simply play up the tensions between cultic manifestations and associations of a single goddess. What connection is there between Venus Verticordia and Magna Mater that might motivate this poetic strategy of connection? A look at several other narrative choices that Ovid makes in these two passages may clarify the question.

We saw above that Ovid seems to locate the central meaning of the cults of April 1 in a tension between matrons and prostitutes, marital chastity and erotic success. These categories are both delineated and blurred by the *Fasti*'s ritual directions and aetia. In Ovid's narrative of the advent of Magna Mater to Rome we find many of these same tensions and ambiguities between social status and its outward trappings and moral or erotic status. Upon the arrival at Ostia of the ship carrying Magna Mater from Phrygia, Ovid sends the Romans to meet it:

> *omnes eques mixtaque gravis cum plebe senatus*
> *obvius ad Tusci fluminis ora venit.*
> *procedunt pariter matres nataeque nurusque*
> *quaeque colunt sanctos virginitate focos.*

> [All the knights and the solemn senate and the plebs all mixed together came to the mouth of the Tiber to meet her. The mothers and daughters and young brides walk in procession together, and those who keep the fires sacred with their virginity.]
>
> (4.293–96)

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[71] I.e., this may be an exception to Scheid's principle that the cultic realities impose limits on the process of exegesis ("Myth, Cult and Reality," 125), precisely because the cult evidence is veiled from male eyes.

Ovid's word choice (explicitly) and word order (implicitly) mixes the classes of men in the welcoming procession and he has the four classes of women walk together. The mothers and brides of April 1 are here again; indeed *nurusque* appears at the same metrical *sedes* as in line 133, and nowhere else in the poem. The prostitutes of April 1 have been replaced by *natae* on the one hand and by Vestal Virgins on the other. The Vestals, like the prostitutes in the earlier passage, occupy a separate line and are introduced by a relative clause. The echoes between these two gatherings of women already begin to call into question social status by substituting Vestals for prostitutes; we might remember that one of the foundation stories for the cult of Venus Verticordia, though it remains in the background for Ovid, involved the adultery of three Vestals in a single year.[72]

The question of dress and status becomes significant when the boat carrying the goddess gets stuck in the mud and a certain Claudia Quinta steps forth from the crowd. Claudia Quinta's involvement in the reception of Magna Mater at Rome was well-established before Ovid. In both the *pro Caelio* (34) and the *de Haruspicum Responso* of 56 B.C.E., Cicero adduces Claudia Quinta as a paragon of Claudian womanhood, to whose example his enemy Clodius' sister is unfavorably and sarcastically compared:

> *Hac igitur vate suadente quondam, defessa Italia Punico bello atque ab Hannibale vexata, sacra ista nostri maiores adscita ex Phrygia Romae conlocarunt; quae vir is accepit qui est optimus populi Romani iudicatus, P. Scipio, femina autem quae matronarum castissima putabatur, Q. Claudia, cuius priscam illam severitatem mirifice tua soror existimatur imitata.*
>
> [Thus once, on the advice of the prophetess, when Italy was exhausted by the Punic War and harassed by Hannibal, our ancestors gave those sacred objects adopted from Phrygia a place in Rome. They were received by the man judged to be the best of the Romans, Publius Scipio, and also by the woman who was thought the most chaste of the matrons, Quinta Claudia, whose old-fashioned austerity your sister is considered to have imitated remarkably well.]
>
> (*Har. Res.* 13.27)

[72] On the cultural and ritual ambiguity of the Vestal Virgins' sexual status, see M. Beard, "The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins," *JRS* 70 (1980): 12–27; "Re-reading (Vestal) Virginity" in *Women in Antiquity: New assessments*, edd. R. Hawley and B. Levick (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 166–77.

Here, Claudia's *castitas*, as judged by the Roman people, is the very reason for her participation in the reception. Cicero's contemporary Diodorus Siculus, gives us much the same tradition, a choice of the 'best' man and woman to receive the Magna Mater, but with a Valeria in the place of Claudia Quinta (Dio. Sic. 34.33.2). These sources indicate a strong tradition in place by the middle of the first century B.C.E., but a tradition still open to competition between elite families.[73] Livy, around 19 B.C.E., simply puts Claudia Quinta among the matrons who receive Magna Mater at the mouth of the Tiber without singling her out as *castissima*, and indeed knows of a tradition in which her reputation is less than perfect:

> *Matronae primores civitatis, inter quas unius Claudiae Quintae insigne est nomen, accepere; cui dubia, ut traditur, antea fama clariorem ad posteros tam religioso ministerio pudicitiam fecit.*
>
> [The leading matrons of the city, among whom the name of one, Claudia Quinta, is well-known, received her; this woman's previously dubious reputation, as the story goes, made her chastity all the more famous to posterity because she performed so pious a service.]
>
> (Liv. 29.14.12)

A woman's chastity, whether exemplary or questionable, becomes a central issue in this myth of Magna Mater's advent to Rome. Though the historical circumstances of the goddess' advent (i.e., the Hannibalic War) do not suggest any overt parallel with that of Venus Verticordia, the development of the myth of Claudia Quinta begins to impinge on the realm of the goddess who protects the chastity of Roman matrons.

Ovid develops Livy's story of Claudia Quinta at length. The oracle which asks that the mother of the gods be brought to Rome also requires that she be received by a "chaste hand" [*casta manu*] (4.260). The ship carrying Magna Mater from Phrygia, on its way up the Tiber to Rome and accompanied by the Roman populace which had met it at Ostia, runs aground and will not budge, despite the efforts of strong men (297–304). Claudia Quinta, a woman reputed to be unchaste, prays to the goddess to vindicate her chastity by fol-

[73] T. P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics: Three Studies in Greco-Roman Literature* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), 94–99. Wiseman sees the choice of Claudia Quinta for her chastity as the original and "no doubt genuine" tradition.

lowing her. She pulls gently on the ship's rope and it easily follows her hand (305–28).

In the earlier tradition, Claudia is unambiguously a matron; in Ovid her social position is much less clear. For the reader, Claudia comes out of the mixed crowd of women at line 305, with no marker of her marital status, no naming of a husband or father or son to place her in one of the above categories of women, though she is clearly *nobilis* by name and appearance:

> *Claudia Quinta genus Clauso referebat ab alto*
> *(nec facies impar nobilitate fuit),*
> *casta quidem, sed non et credita: rumor iniquus*
> *laeserat, et falsi criminis acta rea est.*
> *cultus et ornatis varie prodisse capillis*
> *obfuit ad rigidos promptaque lingua senes.*
> *conscia mens recti famae mendacia risit,*
> *sed nos in vitium credula turba sumus.*

> [Claudia Quinta's family went back to ancient Clausus (nor was her face ill-matched to her nobility); she was, in fact, chaste, but wasn't believed so: unfair gossip had injured her, and she had been accused on a false charge. Her refined ways and her parading around in various *coiffures* were held against her, and a tongue ready for the stiff old men. With a clear conscience she laughed at rumor's lies, but we are a credulous lot when it comes to finding fault.]
>
> (4.305–12)

Claudia's clothing and hairstyle, as well as her general demeanor, which are closely connected to Roman poets' descriptions of their mistresses,[74] mark her in the minds of the *credula turba* as unchaste. From the beginning of the passage, however, Ovid underlines the error of that assumption: *casta quidem, sed non et credita*. In the end, even after the goddess' miraculous confirmation of Claudia's matronly chastity, her erotic status remains questionable: *credita vix tandem teste pudica dea* [at long last, and with difficulty, she was believed to be

[74] Specifically to Propertius' Cynthia and Catullus' Lesbia: the description of her coiffure (309) parallels Prop. 1.2.1 (*quid iuvat ornato procedere, vita, capillo?*), a request to the narrator's mistress to tone down her ornamentation, and the *rigidi senes* of line 9 recall Cat. 5.2 in which Lesbia is asked to ignore the *rumores senum severiorum* and live and love with her Catullus. The sexual punning of the same line (*ad rigidos promptaque lingua senes*) further sexualizes the description. Cf. J. Jope, "The Fasti: Nationalism and Personal Involvement in Ovid's Treatment of Cybele," *EMC* 32, n. s. 7 (1988): 13–22, esp. 19; R. J. Littlewood, "Poetic Artistry and Dynastic Politics: Ovid at the Ludi Megalenses (*Fasti* 4.179–372)," *CQ* 31 (1981): 381–95, esp. 394.

chaste, since the goddess was her witness] (344).[75] As in the two women's cults of April 1, Ovid's treatment of Claudia Quinta's role in this cult lays emphasis on the instability of visual markers of status and the distinction between matron and *meretrix*. The ritual *lavatio* of the cult statue that the two passages share may mark Ovid's interpretation of a concern shared by the two cults with the social and sexual status of women, a frustrated desire to map out distinct social roles.[76]

Claudia Quinta's role in the advent of Magna Mater to Rome may also have influenced Ovid's treatment of the beginnings of Venus Verticordia's cult. I have already argued that Ovid's extended narrative of Magna Mater's importation in 204 B.C.E. has close connections to the very similar story of Venus Erycina's importation in 215, establishing a paradigm for the later abbreviated narrative to refer back to and thereby calling attention to the similarities between the two. I called this pattern 'complementary composition.' In the case of the origins of Venus Verticordia, Ovid does not explicitly tell either of the stories we have received in the tradition, narrating neither the foundation of the temple to atone for a triple case of Vestal incest in 114, nor the choice of Sulpicia as an exemplary matron to dedicate a statue of the goddess some hundred years earlier, but only gives us a vague four lines that could refer to either:

Roma pudicitia proavorum tempore lapsa est;
Cumaeam, veteres, consuluistis anum.
templa iubet fieri Veneri, quibus ordine factis
inde Venus verso nomina corde tenet.

[In our ancestors' day Rome had fallen away from her modesty; you consulted the Cumaean crone, ancients. She ordered that a temple to

[75] This mismatch between Claudia's erotic status and her comportment is reflected in an anecdote that Augustus used the story of Claudia to reassure himself (incorrectly, as it turned out) of his daughter Julia's chastity, despite appearances to the contrary (Macr. *Sat.* 2.5.4).

[76] Several of Ovid's followers who make Claudia herself a Vestal (Jerome, *Adu. Iovin.* 1.25; Claudian, *Laus Serenae* 17; cf. Graillot, *Culte de Cybèle*, 63–64) attest both to the ambiguity of Ovid's representation and to the story's affinities with several cases of suspected Vestal adultery in which the Vestal's chastity is miraculously confirmed (Postumia in Liv. 4.44.11–12 and Aemilia, who is juxtaposed with Claudia as a model of feminine virtue in Propertius 4.11.50–54). Even Latte makes the slip of calling her "der Vestalin Claudia" (*Religionsgeschichte*, 259, n. 2). For a discussion of the later misreading of Ovid's Claudia, see Porte, *Etiologie Religieuse*, 395–96.

> Venus be built, which was consequently done, and thence Venus has her epithet from their change of heart.]
>
> (4.157–60)

The first line could belong to either the Sulpicia narrative of the late third century or to the story of Vestal incest in 114 B.C.E. as they are transmitted to us; the consultation of the Sibyl could belong only to the former narrative; and the building of the temple, only to the latter. The emphasis on the antiquity of the cult (*proavorum, veteres*) might indicate that Ovid had in mind the Sulpicia story. The affinities between this story and that of Claudia Quinta are clear, and indeed were noticed by Pliny: *Pudicissima femina semel matronarum sententia indicata est Sulpicia Paterculi filia, uxor Fulvi Flacci, electa ex centum praeceptis quae simulacrum Veneris ex Sibyllinis libris dedicaret, iterum religionis experimento Claudia inducta Romam deum matre* [One time, Sulpicia, the daughter of Paterculus, the wife of Fulvius Flaccus, was declared the most chaste woman in the opinion of the matrons, having been elected from one hundred candidates, in order to dedicate a statue of Venus in accordance with the Sibylline books. A second time, Claudia was declared the most chaste woman by the proof of religious service, when the Mother of the Gods was brought to Rome] (*N.H.* 7.35.120). As in the case of the *lavationes* of Venus Verticordia and Magna Mater, we can see a clear case of Ovid's awareness of the compositional whole of his book affecting his choice of detail within his treatment of these two cults. By allowing Claudia's narrative to tell the story for both cults, Ovid once again asserts the place of the cult of Magna Mater among the cults of April concerned with the regulation of female chastity.

Magna Mater and Ceres

In the story of Claudia Quinta Ovid experiments compositionally with the integration of Magna Mater with Venus Verticordia, a relatively minor cult figure, and one that was similarly introduced in the middle Republic. Other portions of his treatment of the Megalensia negotiate the new festival's relation with one of the oldest calendrical celebrations, the large-letter festival of the Cerealia. The two longest sections of Book 4 treat the festivals of Magna Mater (the Megalensia) and Ceres (the Cerealia), and the games associated with

each.[77] Though the festivals themselves fall on the fourth and the nineteenth of April, respectively, the multi-day games of the two goddesses bring their celebrations into close calendrical proximity, with only one day intervening.[78] Ovid's transition between the two festivals elides even this brief respite from the games, describing at 391–92 the circus games on the last day of the *ludi Matri Magnae*, then continuing at 393: *Hinc Cereris ludi*; the games continue, it seems, only now they belong to Ceres.[79] Braun has demonstrated the centrality of these two sections to the structure of Book 4 as a whole and noted correspondences between them:[80] the opening day and the closing day of each is treated; each is interrupted by a notice of the dedication date of a temple (373–76, 621–24) and by a commemoration of a military victory, accompanied by a weather notice (377–86, 625–28).

Fauth has pointed to another topos that recurs and develops in the two treatments, one more suggestive for the meaning of the relationship between the two festivals.[81] The final question in Ovid's interview with Erato about the cult of Magna Mater has to do with the *moretum*, a ritual meal set out for the goddess:

> *'non pudet herbosum' dixi 'posuisse moretum*
> *in dominae mensis: an sua causa subest?'*
> *'lacte mero veteres usi narrantur et herbis,*
> *sponte sua siquas terra ferebat' ait;*
> *'candidus elisae miscetur caseus herbae,*
> *cognoscat priscos ut dea prisca cibos.'*

> ['Isn't it shameful,' I said, 'to put a *moretum* on the Mistress' table; or is there a reason behind it?' 'The ancients are said to have enjoyed pure milk and greens, if the earth offered them on its own,' she says. 'White cheese is mixed with crushed greens, so that the ancient goddess recognizes ancient food.']
>
> (4.367–72)

[77] Megalensia and games: 179–372 and 377–392; Cerealia and games: 393–621 and 679–712. Henceforth, I will use the names of the festivals to refer to the festivals and the games.

[78] The *ludi Matri Magnae* ran from April 4 to 10; the *ludi Cereri*, from April 12 to 19; see Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 435, 439.

[79] Bayet, "'Cerealia,'" 13, n. 1 argues that the games ran continuously, based on this passage; *contra*, Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 438.

[80] Braun, "Kompositionskunst," 2353–54, 2373.

[81] Fauth, "Römische Religion im Spiegel," 157.

The meal should likely be traced to the Asiatic roots of the goddess,[82] but we are concerned, rather, with Ovid's presentation of it: Magna Mater is an ancient goddess and likes pre-agricultural food,[83] milk and cheese and whatever greens the earth offers *sponte sua.* The beginning of the Cerealia passage, less than thirty lines later, emphasizes Ceres' gift of grain as changing the eating habits of the ancients; the echo of Magna Mater's *moretum* is unmistakable: *panis erat primis viridis mortalibus herbae,/quas tellus nullo sollicitante dabat* [The first mortals' 'bread' was fresh greens, which the earth gave them without provocation] (4.395–96). With Ceres' introduction of grain and plowing (401–4), we have moved into the agricultural age in the space of thirty-five lines, and in just a few days. In Ovid's representation, the succession of the festivals of these two mother-goddesses plays out the succession of epochs. Fauth's observation of this pattern emphasizes the way Ovid's narrative works to coordinate the historically much later festival of Magna Mater with the agricultural cycle of festivals in the latter part of April, using the Megalensia as an image of an earlier, pre-agricultural culture, preceding the agricultural festivals in the month. The urge to give the Megalensia a meaning in relation to this group of April's rites is strong,[84] and Fauth demonstrates one significance that might be assigned to the calendrical succession of the two festivals.

The cultural history encapsulated in the contrasting foods at the border between the Megalensia and the Cerealia in the *Fasti* also plays a part in a larger set of contrasts in Ovid's treatment of the festivals. Both Magna Mater and Ceres are represented as civilizing goddesses, filling roles which, like so much else in Book 4, are foreshadowed by the proem's portrait of Venus. Lines 89–114 of the proem praise Venus as a civilizing influence, giving laws to the natural world, taming wild beasts and inspiring human arts.[85] The details with which we are most concerned here give Venus credit for the beginning of community life and for agriculture: *illa rudes animos hominum contraxit in unum,/et docuit iungi cum pare quemque sua* [She brought rough human souls together into one place and taught each to be joined with his mate] (97–98). The erotic coupling of men and

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[82] Graillot, *Culte de Cybèle*, 79–80.
[83] Cf. Pales' meal (4.743–46).
[84] Bayet, "'Cerealia,'" 12, n. 1 notes Magna Mater's appropriateness to the month as a "universal mother".
[85] Cf. Ferrarino, "Laus Veneris," 301–16.

women is the beginning of social living,[86] and the erotic coupling of animals is the beginning of agriculture—the image of yoking implied in *iungi* begins to encourage such a reading, and five lines later we hear that love tamed bulls (103–4). The abandonment of wildness (*feritas*) both for bulls (*deposita . . . feritate* [103]), and for human beings (*prima feros habitus homini detraxit* [107]) is the basic prerequisite for civilization.[87]

When we come to Ovid's Megalensia, we find a similar conjunction of civilizing traits as the poet-figure peppers Erato with questions about Magna Mater:

. . . coepi: 'cur huic genus acre leonum
praebent insolitas ad iuga curva iubas?'
desieram; coepit: 'feritas mollita per illam
creditur: id curru testificata suo est.'
'at cur turrifera caput est onerata corona?
an primis turres urbibus illa dedit?'
adnuit.

[. . . I began: 'Why does the fierce race of lions, offer her their manes for the curved yoke, though unbroken to it?' I stopped; she began: 'Wildness is thought to be softened by her; she gives proof of this with her chariot.' 'But why is her head burdened with a crown built with towers? Or did she give towers to the first cities?' She nodded yes.] (4.215–21)

The connection of Magna Mater's mural crown with city walls is common, but is usually associated with an identification of the goddess with the Earth. Varro's version, reported by Augustine, is typical: *Eandem [Tellurem] . . . dicunt Matrem Magnam; quod tympanum habeat, significari esse orbem terrae; quod turres in capite, oppida . . .* [They call the same goddess (Tellus) Magna Mater; the fact that she holds a drum signifies that she is the circle of the earth; the fact that she has towers on her head signifies cities . . .] (Aug. *C.D.* 7.24). Ovid's version gives more emphasis to the civilizing nature of the goddess: she does not just support cities, she gives them walls. Her yoking of lions in Ovid has clear resonances with the proem (esp. *feritas mollita*), but any agricultural significance goes unexpressed. Again, Varro's interpretation of this iconographic detail brings Ovid's into relief:

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[86] This is made clearer by comparison with *A.A.* 2.473–78.
[87] Cf. Cic. *de Or.* 1.33, praise of *eloquentia*: *quae vis alia potuit aut dispersos homines unum in locum congregare, aut a fera agrestique vita ad hunc humanum cultum civilemque deducere, aut, iam constitutis civitatibus, leges, iudicia, iura describere?*

Leonem . . . adiungunt solutum ac mansuetum, ut ostendat nullum genus esse terrae tam remotum ac vehementer ferum quod non subigi colique conveniat [They add [to her statues] a lion, untied and tame, in order to show that no sort of land is so removed and tremendously wild that it is not fit to be plowed and cultivated] (Aug. *C.D.* 7.24).[88] That the lion is a symbol of tamed *feritas* is consistent in both versions, but Varro interprets it as the wildness of pre-agricultural land, and its taming as cultivation. For Varro, Magna Mater is an agricultural goddess.[89] Ovid's choice not to make her one is significant,[90] especially considering the overwhelming draw of the cycle of agricultural festivals in April.

Ceres, on the other hand, is at the very center of that agricultural cycle: *illa iugo tauros collum praebere coegit:/tum primum soles eruta vidit humus* [she forced bulls to offer their necks to the yoke: then for the first time the dug-up earth saw the sun] (4.403–4). Ceres' yoking of bulls glances back to the proem, but here the civilizing influence is entirely agricultural. Ovid also relates Ceres' fostering of Triptolemus as an etiology for the beginning of plowing (559–60). Again, the poet might have made a different choice: one of Ceres' cultic titles was *legifera*, 'Law-bringer',[91] and Servius indicates her connection with the beginnings of settled community life as well.[92] Cicero's invocation of Ceres at the climax of his prayer at the end of the Verrines

[88] Varro's lion is not yoked, and indeed Roman statues of the goddess show her with lions in a variety of poses: M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), see the index, *s.v.* "lion." Varro's interpretation holds as well for any of these poses.

[89] Graillot (*Culte de Cybèle*, 70–71) demonstrates a strong pattern of association between Magna Mater and a variety of Italic agricultural goddesses, but the late date of her arrival in the city prevents true assimilation.

[90] The one possible hint at an agriculture role for Magna Mater in the *Fasti* is only discernible in light of a note in Pliny that reports a larger grain harvest in 204 than in any of the preceding ten years, and associates this with the *advectio* of Magna Mater (*N.H.* 18.16; cf. Spaeth, *Ceres*, 96; Graillot, *Culte de Cybèle*, 71, n. 2). Ovid reports that the grounding of Magna Mater's boat in the mud of the Tiber was due to a drought that year: *sicca diu fuerat tellus, sitis usserat herbas* (4.299); in *Fasti* 4 agricultural goddesses regularly relieve droughts and crop failures: 4.615–18 (Ceres); 641–48, 671–72 (Tellus); cf. also 5.315–30 (Flora, on whose inclusion, see below).

[91] Spaeth, *Ceres*, 52–53; Le Bonniec, *Cérès*, 79–88. Cf. Venus' 'law-giving' role in the proem (4.93).

[92] Serv. *Aen.* 4.58: *LEGIFERAE CERERI leges enim ipsa dicitur invenisse, nam et sacra ipsius 'thesmophoria' vocantur, id est 'legumlatio'. sed hoc fingitur quia, ante inventum frumentum a Cerere, passim homines sine lege vagabantur; quae feritas interrupta est invento usu frumentorum, postquam ex agrorum discretione nata sunt iura.*

makes most clear the goddess' far-reaching associations with civilization: *Ceres et Libera . . . a quibus initia vitae atque victus, morum, legum, mansuetudinis, humanitatis hominibus et civitatibus data et dispertita dicuntur* [Ceres and Libera, by whom the beginnings of life and livelihood, of customs, laws, gentleness, and humanity, were given and distributed to humans and their cities] (*Verr.* 2.187). Clearly a tradition was available to Ovid in which Ceres had dominion over more than simple agricultural *cultus*.

While Ovid's treatment and limitation of Magna Mater and Ceres' roles as civilizing goddesses are not remarkable separately, together they represent another case of complementary composition: the socializing, urbanizing role that Ovid attributes to Magna Mater, he avoids in his treatment of Ceres; and likewise he avoids associating Magna Mater with Ceres' agricultural role. The reference in both cases back to the proem's all-encompassing civilizing goddess, Venus, underlines Ovid's distribution of these roles between the two goddesses. Without the Venus proem, we might note no particular relationship between Ovid's treatment of Magna Mater and Ceres; with the Venus proem in the background, we begin to see the two festivals and the two goddesses building meanings in a complementary relationship with one another, one giving way to the other in each contested field of influence. The poet's careful distinction between two goddesses whom Varro goes so far as to identify with one another,[93] because of their inclusion in the month/book of April, in the end draws attention to their shared traits.

In the modern scholarship, a more oppositional reading of the close concurrence of the dates of the Megalensia and the Cerealia has emerged, associating Magna Mater's cult with the patricians and that of Ceres with the plebeians,[94] and reading the two cults as expressive of the rivalry of the two social classes. While the association of Ceres with the plebeians is very old (primarily in the cult of Ceres, Liber, and Libera),[95] we must keep in mind the transfor-

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[93] Aug. *C.D.* 7.16 (quoting Varro); also dependent on Varro: Arnob. *Adu. Nat.* 3.32.

[94] A theory most recently and enthusiastically expounded by Spaeth (*Ceres*, 92–97), with reference back to Graillot, *Culte de Cybèle*, 57; Le Bonniec, *Cérès*, 365–67; D. Sabatucci, "L'edilità romana: Magistratura e sacerdozio," *MemLinc* 8.6.3 (1954): 255–334, esp. 275–79. See also A. Piganiol, *Recherches sur les jeux romains* (Strasbourg: Librairie Istra, 1923), 87.

[95] Spaeth, *Ceres*, 81–89; T. J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars* (London: Routledge, 1995), 263–65.

mation of the meaning of the term 'plebeian' by the time of the importation of Magna Mater in 204. More than eighty years after the *lex Hortensia*, a class opposition between plebeians (in the old sense) and patricians no longer applies: plebeian families have a share in all important public offices and most priestly colleges, and plebiscites have the force of law. Tensions remain between the senate (both plebeian and patrician) and the *plebs*, in the sense of the people, but this is a very different matter.[96] As only one example of the effect of this differentiation on the evidence for this oppositional relationship, we might consider the role of P. Scipio Nasica in the importation of Magna Mater. Spaeth points to the choice of this young patrician as the *vir optimus* to receive the goddess as a sign of the patrician associations of the goddess. What is more important about the Scipiones in this period, however, is not their status as a patrician family opposed to plebeians, but their political and military dominance supported in large part by the popular assemblies, and in opposition to the larger part of the senate.[97] If the cult of Magna Mater were being set up by the senatorial elite in contradistinction to the plebeian (i.e., popular) April cult of Ceres, a Scipio would surely not be the *vir optimus* to receive the goddess.

The *Fasti* adds another voice against this interpretation of the relationship between Magna Mater and Ceres, showing no focus on an opposition between patricians and plebeians or even between senate and people. Ovid quite appropriately mentions the senators as he narrates the decision to transfer the goddess to Rome (*patres* [261], *proceres* [265]), but it is the Romans as a whole who meet the goddess at Ostia: *omnes eques mixtaque gravis cum plebe senatus* (293). Claudia

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[96] On the difference between the new *nobilitas* and the old patriciate, see E. S. Staveley, "Rome and Italy in the Early Third Century," *CAH*^{2}, vol. VII.2, 443–47. In fact, much of the evidence Spaeth calls into play to support an opposition between the two cults in terms of patricians and plebeians actually refers to the senate and the people: e.g., Val. Max. 2.4.3, 4.5.1 (cf. Liv. 34.54.3–8), on the institution of special senatorial seating at the games; *Fast. Praen.* on April 4. The one piece of ancient evidence which contrasts the cults of the two goddesses by association with patricians and plebeians is an unanswered question in Aulus Gellius about the dinners hosted at each festival: *quam ob causam patricii Megalensibus mutitare soliti sunt, plebes Cerialibus* (*N.A.* 18.2.11). Every other source that mentions these meals mentions those at the Megalensia only, and none specify the participants as patricians; Gellius elsewhere refers to the participants in the *mutitationes* of the Megalensia as *principes civitates* (2.24.2).

[97] J. Briscoe, "The Second Punic War," *CAH*^{2}, vol. 8, 67–74; Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture*, 21–27.

Quinta's beautiful face is a match for her *nobilitas* (305–6),[98] but it is the *populus* who donates its change to build the goddess a temple (351). There is no inordinate focus on the patriciate or the Senate in the passage which would indicate a particular association of the cult with that class; nor is the subject avoided as sensitive or in need of smoothing over. While, as we saw above, Claudia Quinta's status comes into question, it is her erotic status rather than her class that is at issue. Nothing in the *Fasti*'s treatment of the cult of Magna Mater encourages a reading of it as patrician or in opposition to the plebeian cult of Ceres.

Ovid's careful construction of Magna Mater and Ceres as complementary goddesses whose realms are defined in relation to one another both interprets the calendrical proximity of the two festivals and shows the tensions created by the addition of a 'new' goddess to the Roman pantheon and the Roman calendar. While Varro simply assimilates Magna Mater to Ceres, Ovid reads and writes their relationship as more complex, constructing Magna Mater as almost Ceres-before-grain, and making Ceres yield her non-agricultural roles to the older (but newly resident) goddess. A final image of this complicated relationship is provided by the periegeses in the narratives of the two goddesses, which replay the same issues on a geographical axis, exploring the relationship between Magna Mater as a foreigner and Ceres as a native goddess. At 4.277–92, Ovid describes the journey of the ship carrying Magna Mater from Phrygia to the mouth of the Tiber. Beginning at 4.467 and continuing (with some stopovers) until 572, the poet narrates Ceres' wanderings in search of Proserpina, beginning from Sicily. The itineraries of the two goddesses' travels mirror one another in large part, and they pass many of the same places, traveling in opposite directions.[99] Most significantly, both journeys end at the Tiber river (291–93, 572). The foreign goddess, who, as we saw above, is naturalized in the *Fasti* through her status as ancestor of the Romans and whose story in the poem is solidly Roman, and the native goddess whose narrative is lifted from

[98] Though the Claudian *gens* is patrician, the emphasis on the age and nobility of Claudia's family is surely primarily a nod in the direction of Livia's family. Cf. Littlewood, "Poetic Artistry," esp. 384–85.

[99] The area of greatest overlap is between 278–87 and 467–567. Specific places mentioned in both include Sicily (287–88, 467–80), with the Cyclops named (288, 473); Icaria and the Icarian Sea (283–84, 566); the Cyclades (281, 565); the Hellespont (278, 567).

the Greek tradition, and who begins her journey in Magna Graecia, both in the end come home to Rome. The inverted paths of the two goddesses' journeys, and their arrival in the end at the same place offer a neat geographical figure of their calendrical and cultic proximity, despite their very different histories. The city, the calendar, and the poet, must find a meaningful way to accommodate both.

Flora

A brief epilogue must be addressed to the problem of Ovid's deferral of the goddess Flora, whose festival runs from April 28 until May 3, to Book 5 in favor of a commemoration of the dedication of a shrine to Vesta adjacent to or in Augustus' house in 12 B.C.E.:

mille venit variis florum dea nexa coronis;
scaena ioci morem liberioris habet.
exit et in Maias sacrum Florale Kalendas:
tunc repetam, nunc me grandius urget opus.
aufer, Vesta, diem: cognati Vesta recepta est
limine; sic iusti constituere patres.

[A goddess comes, decked in garlands colored with a thousand flowers; the stage is freer in its humor. Flora's rites pass on into the first of May: I'll come back to them then; now a grander work presses upon me. Take the day away, Vesta! Vesta has been received on the threshold of her kin; thus the righteous senate decreed.]

(4.945–50)

I will discuss Augustus' choice of this date for the installation of Vesta on the Palatine in the next chapter. For now, I draw attention to Ovid's express signal that Flora belongs to April and Book 4 at least as much as to May and Book 5. On a very practical level, we must acknowledge that Ovid's surfeit of material in Book 4, which, as it stands, is the longest of the six books by nearly 100 lines, may have been one motivation for his treating the Floralia in the fifth book. In a religious sense, however, Flora belongs quite clearly to the cycle of agricultural festivals of April, as protectress of the flowering of crops.[100] I am concerned here to illustrate how Ovid re-connects Flora to his construction of April and to the associative

[100] Fauth, "Römische Religion im Spiegel," 162–64; Le Bonniec, *Cérès*, 112; Fantham, "Ceres, Liber and Flora," 49–52.

connections between goddesses we have traced throughout this chapter.

Ovid's first address to Flora in Book 5 recalls the preceding book's emphasis on mothers, and specifically the first line of the book: *'Mater, ades, florum . . .'* (5.183); cf. *'Alma, fave . . . geminorum mater Amorum'* (4.1). The lines that follow draw explicit attention to Flora's displacement from the end of April:

> *distuleram partes mense priore tuas.*
> *incipis Aprili, transis in tempora Maii:*
> *alter te fugiens, cum venit alter habet.*
> *cum tua sint cedantque tibi confinia mensum,*
> *convenit in laudes ille vel ille tuas.*

> [I took away your part of the preceding month. You begin in April and cross over into the time of May: the one has you as it departs, the other, when it arrives. Since the border of the months is yours and gives way to you, either one is appropriate for your praise.]
> (5.184–88)

From the beginning of Book 5's treatment of the Floralia, we are thus asked to look back to the previous book. It is specifically as mother-of-flowers that Flora fits into the generative theme of Book 4, and the goddess makes clear that her flowers are not just decorative, but are necessary to the production of crops (5.261–72). In addition, Flora connects the institution of annual games in her honor to a crop failure (295–329). While we have seen that the *Fasti* accords a similar origin to the Fordicidia (4.641–48, 671–72), the narrative also refers back to the canonical story of Ceres' neglect of her crops during her search for Proserpina, as Flora neglects her flowers because of her sorrow at being slighted in sacrifices (5.313–16, cf. 4.503–4). Ovid also connects Flora to Ceres by means of a detail of cult, contrasting the white clothing worn at the Cerealia to the multi-colored dress at the Floralia; each, he explains, represents a different stage in the maturation of crops (5.355–58).

Ovid's fanciful narrative of Flora's rape by, and eventual marriage to Zephyrus (5.197–206) also brings the Cerealia to mind, echoing the rape of Proserpina narrated in Book 4. Each was wandering in a spring field (4.425–26, 5.201) when spotted by her rapist (4.445, 5.201). Flora says her attractiveness provided her mother with a divine son-in-law (5.200), thereby calling to mind Ceres' complaints to Jupiter about her new son-in-law (4.591–92). The list of flowers picked by Proserpina and her companions (4.437–42), though a topos

of the story,[101] has particular resonances with Flora's description of her dowry of flowers: *'saepe ego digestos volui numerare colores,/nec potui: numero copia maior erat'* ['I often wanted to count the different colors, but I couldn't; the multitude was beyond counting'] (5.213–14); the flowers in Proserpina's meadow are likewise beyond name or number (4.429, 441). The second rape narrative seems to be Ovid's invention, and thus particularly susceptible to poetic manipulation designed to reconnect Flora to the month of April. It may have been suggested, however, by existing cultural associations between Proserpina and Flora, as at least one other source indicates. In a passage listing famous Greek works of art at Rome, Pliny the Elder describes a strange statue group: *Romae Praxitelis opera sunt Flora, Triptolemus, Ceres in hortis Servilianis* [The works of Praxiteles at Rome are a group of Flora, Triptolemus and Ceres in the Servilian gardens] (Plin. *N.H.* 36.23). Pliny has clearly mistaken Proserpina for Flora, and in so doing testifies both to the similarity between the two goddesses' statue types and to the close association of Ceres and Flora.[102]

In addition to connecting Flora to Ceres and to the agricultural cycle of April in general, Ovid connects the goddess to Book 4's Venus, both in the guise of Venus Erycina, and as the goddess of the proem. We saw above that Ovid summons prostitutes to the festival of Venus Erycina: *numina, volgares, Veneris celebrate, puellae:/multa professarum quaestibus apta Venus* [Girls of the crowd, worship Venus' divinity: a lot of 'Venus' is well-suited to the profits of 'working girls'] (4.865–66). The *professae* were women who had to register (*profiteri*) their trade with the aediles, and carries an implication of a low occupation, and particularly of prostitution.[103] In his treatment of the role of prostitutes in the Floralia, Ovid echoes the earlier passage:

turba quidem cur hos celebret meretricia ludos
non ex difficili causa petita subest.
non est de tetricis, non est de magna professis:
volt sua plebeio sacra patere choro,
et monet aetatis specie, dum floreat, uti;
contemni spinam, cum cecidere rosae.

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[101] Cf. *h. Cer.* 2.4–14; *Met.* 5.391–94. Cf. Hinds, *Metamorphosis*, 60, 77–82 on these catalogues.
[102] M. Guarducci, "Enea e Vesta," *MDAI (R)* 78 (1971): 73–118, esp. 89–118.
[103] Bömer, ad *Fasti* 4.866.

[Indeed, the reason the prostitutes' crowd celebrates these games is found without difficulty. She doesn't belong to the gloomy, or to those professing great things: she wants her rites to lie open to the people's chorus, and she advises enjoying the beauty of youth while it blooms; the thorn is despised, when the roses have fallen.]

(5.349–51)

Here, the *magna professae* (or *professi*) are those who have nothing to do with Flora, and the passage contrasts them with the *meretrices* who take part in the games; at the same time, the wording calls to mind the *professae* who celebrated Venus Erycina in Book 4.[104]

These lines also all but demand a generic reading. As Newlands has observed, Ovid has already delivered something of a *recusatio*-in-reverse in Book 4 as he sent Flora and her *ioci mos liberioris* (4.946) off to the kalends of May in favor of the more serious events of April 28, the celebration of the new Julio-Claudian cult of Vesta: *nunc me grandius urget opus* (948). This line evokes the close of *Amores* 3.1, where the poet makes a generic choice between elegy and tragedy, personified as women; the poet chooses Elegia (and thus writes his last book of *Amores*), but promises Tragoedia her turn soon: *teneri properentur Amores,/dum vacat; a tergo grandius urguet opus!* [Let tender Loves hurry, while there is time; a grander work presses from behind!] (*Am.* 3.1.67–70).[105] After this generic set-up, we arrive in Book 5 to find in Flora a goddess with close affinities to Elegia: both are perfumed beauties, adorned with flowers and particularly with the plants of Venus: myrtle for Elegia (*Am.* 3.1.34), roses for Flora (*Fast.* 5.359–60).[106] Flora's alignment with Elegia continues into the description of the festival: a reveler performs the *paraclausithyron* so typical of elegy (5.339–40), a scene which in the Venus proem marked the beginning of poetry and eloquence (4.109–12); the theatrical games of the goddess are *levis* (5.347), a word of generic significance for elegy; they are also characterized by *lascivia maior* and *liberior iocus* (5.331–32);[107] the goddess' 'gather ye rosebuds' advice at 5.353–54 also recalls the *carpe diem* topos so common in Roman love poetry.[108]

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[104] Bömer, ad *Fast.* 5.351.
[105] Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 141; cf. Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 135–36.
[106] Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 108–9.
[107] Hinds, *Metamorphosis*, 141 n. 58.
[108] Most famously in Hor. *Carm.* 1.11.7–8, but with closer parallels to this passage in Ov. *Ars* 1.113–16, 3.59–80; Tib. 1.8.47–48; Prop. 4.59–62. Cf. Bömer, *Fasten*, ad loc.

When, in this context, we read that Flora has nothing to do with the *magna professis*, an echo of *recusationes* of the 'big' topics and form of epic is inevitable.[109]

Ovid finally closes the Floralia passage with a prayer to the goddess as a poetic patron: *floreat ut toto carmen Nasonis in aevo,/sparge, precor, donis pectora nostra tuis* [So that Naso's song may bloom for all time, I pray, sprinkle my breast with your gifts] (5.377–78).[110] Venus and Flora are the only two deities in the *Fasti* invoked as poetic (as opposed to didactic) helpers. Venus had granted inspiration with a punning touch to the poet's brow: *mota Cytheriaca leviter mea tempora myrto/contigit et 'coeptum perfice' dixit 'opus'* [Moved, the Cytherian lightly touched my brow with myrtle and said, 'Finish the work you've begun'] (4.15–16). Punning on *tempora* is a favorite play for Ovid, and is especially piquant in this poem that begins *Tempora cum causis*. . . . A glance back to the Flora passage reveals a similar (though not so obvious) pun at 5.335: *tempora sutilibus cinguntur tota coronis* [All brows are encircled with fastened garlands]. As in the Venus proem, *tempora* refers first to the brows of the head; figuratively, however, it refers also to the 'time' of the festival; and lastly, in light of the close of the Floralia passage, we cannot rule out a third referent in the poem itself. Flora's power to grant poetic success is figured as a sprinkling of flowers on the poet and his work; the crowning of Ovid's *tempora*, i.e., the *Fasti*, with flowers in this passage has the same effect.

Finally, Ovid's placement of the *sphragis* of his name at so obscure a place in the poem again plays with the displacement of Flora from her rightful position. This common closural technique, placed here nearly 400 lines into Book 5, asks the reader to reconnect Flora to the poetic and religious context of Book 4.[111] In Ovid's treatment of the Floralia, the reiteration of the theme of agricultural motherhood, the connection of the festival with the cults of April 1 and with the cult of Venus Erycina via its inclusion of prostitutes, the re-opening of generic issues addressed by the proem of Book 4, and the echoes of Venus' role as poetic patron all reinforce the impression that the Floralia 'belongs' to the end of April and the close of Book 4.

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[109] Cf. Hor. *Ars* 14 (*magna professis*), 27 (*professus grandia*).

[110] Cf. Callimachus' invocation of the Graces at *Aet.* fr. 7.13–14 Pf. See Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, ad loc.; Miller, "Divine Interlocutors," 178–79.

[111] The strangeness of this placement is noted by Bömer ad loc.; Miller, "Divine Interlocutors," 179 suggests that this is indicative of the episodic arrangement of

While this chapter has certainly not exhausted the cultic and poetic associations among the rites of April both inside and outside of the *Fasti*, it has focused on a set of connections which test some of the possibilities Ovid's unique combination of poetic and calendrical structures offers for the building of meanings among the rites of the month. First, the proemic Venus, in addition to her programmatic and encomiastic duties, provides an embodiment of the connections among the rites of April. She both exerts an influence on Ovid's treatment of the rites, and is herself shaped by the rites that fall under her *titulus*. Though the proem itself is a highly literary construct, it assumes a cultural conception of the month as a unit and its rites as interrelated. Second, my study of particular pairs of festivals and goddesses points to the variety of calendrical situations that can indicate or perhaps result in ritual connections. Venus Verticordia and Fortuna Virilis share a calendrical space and the historical confusion between their rites is explored in the poetic blurring of goddesses and participants. Venus Verticordia and Venus Erycina, as the 'bookends' of Venus' month also invite assimilation or comparison. The juxtaposition of the rites of Venus Verticordia and Magna Mater early in April draws attention to the shared aspects of their history and cult. At the latter end of the Megalensia, the newer festival's smooth transition into the Cerealia and the rest of the agricultural cycle of the latter half of the month presents the reader of the calendar with a problem: is Cybele part of this ancient cycle or not? The question is reflected both in the calendrical and poetic correspondences between the Cerealia and the Megalensia and in the poet's attention to providing Magna Mater with meanings related to, but distinct from, the Italic goddess. Finally, Ovid's reconnection of Flora to Book 4 insists on the coherence of the month and of the book, while playing with the Floralia's position at the border of the next unit.

Ovid's concern to explore the relationships between the rites of April recommends book-oriented readings of the rest of the *Fasti* which would complement the more episodic readings which have

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the *Fasti* in which book boundaries are less important than episode boundaries. The thematization of Flora's displacement from the book boundary speaks against this reading and the close of Ovid's interview with the goddess with *omnia finierat* just before the sphragis (5.375) also calls attention to Flora's 'natural' place at the end of Book 4. For other ways the Floralia passage 'closes' Book 4, see Loehr, *Mehrfacherklärungen*, 276–78.

dominated the field in recent years. In addition, it confirms that Ovid is reading the calendar as more than a schedule of events. For the poet, the calendrical model of the month presumes unity, presenting the festivals under the *titulus* of the month-name. It also suggests internal structural patterns and significant juxtapositions. The calendar, however, does not inscribe meanings or interpret its own structure, but only presents the structure as such, governed by the assumptions that go along with a systematized visual presentation. Ovid's reading of the calendar and his rewriting of April tease out these meanings and interpret the calendrical structure, drawing both from ritual similarities and from the poetic tradition, and even inventing from time to time. Whether Ovid's connections are historically 'right,' inaccurate but common to his contemporaries, or positively fanciful, they point to the necessity of including this interpretive exercise, this drawing of meaning from the calendrical structures, in our conception of the way the Roman ritual calendar worked.

CHAPTER FOUR

QUOSCUMQUE SACRIS ADDIDIT ILLE DIES: THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN HOLIDAYS[1]

As we saw in the last chapter, Ovid's *Fasti* uses poetic strategies of connection and allusion to represent and build ritual or associative connections between a variety of rites of April. In one case in particular, Magna Mater's problematic relationship with Ceres and the agricultural festivals of late April, the question of the calendrical structure's capacity for integrating newer festivals with older ones arose. The presence of the Megalensia and the Cerealia in close proximity in the same month seems to require the calendar's readers to build a relationship between the two.

An analogous calendrical situation is presented by Caesar, Augustus, and Tiberius' addition of a variety of new celebrations to the calendar. Ranging from commemorations of imperial anniversaries (births, deaths, victories, assumptions of offices, awarding of honors) to new *dies natales* for the dozens of temples restored or built under the auspices of the imperial family, these Julio-Claudian festivals drastically revised the look of the Roman calendar, while operating within its traditional structures. Like so many elements of Augustan culture, these new holidays were both legitimized by their participation in the ancient form, and irreversibly altered it. Ovid commits to a treatment of these Julio-Claudian holidays in his program at the start of the poem, promising Germanicus that he will find *festa domestica* [the festivals of his house] (1.9) in the poem to come: *Caesaris arma canant alii: nos Caesaris aras/et quoscumque sacris addidit ille dies* [Let others sing of Caesar's arms; I will sing of Caesar's altars and whatever days he has added to the rites] (1.13–14). The poet follows through on his promise, treating many (though not all) of the anniversaries of

[1] Some material in this chapter is published in a slightly different version in "Added Days: Calendrical Poetics and the Julio-Claudian Holidays" in *Ovid's* Fasti: *Historical Readings at its Bimillennium*, ed. G. Herbert-Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 251–74 and is reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press.

Augustus and his family inscribed in the epigraphical calendars, and in addition observing the *dies natales* of many temples built or restored under the care of members of the *domus Augusta*. Ovid's poem both documents and takes part in the negotiation of a space for these 'added days' in the calendrical structure.

As A. Barchiesi has observed, Ovid faced a changed exegetical situation when working with the Augustan and Tiberian anniversaries. In a very basic sense, the *causae* of the new holidays were spelled out and were not open to debate or multiple etiologies: the typical formula in the calendars is *Feriae ex senatus consulto, quod eo die* . . . [Holiday by senatorial decree because on this day . . .]. Barchiesi argues that the new celebrations were connected to one another through a planned and continuous 'narrative' of Augustus' consolidation of power and establishment of a dynasty, and that this was a radical departure from the ancient calendrical structure's "complete flexibility as far as associations and exegetical content are concerned" and its lack of "any ideological continuity between the festivals, any sort of syntagmatic plan."[2] While Barchiesi's observation of a change in the explicitness of the meanings assigned to festivals is valuable, we have seen that both Ovid and other sources suggest that all sorts of ritual and exegetical connections (e.g., the construction of internally linked cycles of festivals, responsion of ritual elements, and repetition of themes in the exegesis of calendrically close festivals) were encouraged by the calendrical structure and formed an essential part of the conception and experience of the Roman year even in its older form. The Julio-Claudian holidays were integrated into this flexible, but not entirely syntax-free calendrical context in a distinctly non-narrative manner, making use of the calendar's own mode of representation.

In this chapter I first briefly examine some very clear evidence from outside the *Fasti* for the manipulation of the calendrical structure by the *principes* to encourage connections between old and new holidays, and between new holidays of different dates. I then turn to cases in which Ovid's exegesis of the new holidays in their poetic and calendrical contexts brings to the fore the same sort of manipulation. Despite the seemingly fixed meaning of the new holidays, the calendrical structure encourages or even requires viewers to

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[2] Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 70–72, following Beard, "Complex."

expand and revise the meaning of a day's celebration to integrate it with the surrounding days. The placement of the new holidays demonstrates an awareness of this exegetical impulse inscribed in the calendar, and Augustus' efforts to harness it. Ovid's poem on the one hand seems to follow the *princeps*' guiding hand, but also demonstrates the impossibility of his fully controlling the meanings built by the calendar's readers.

Natalis Augusti

Augustus' birthday on September 23 offers the clearest picture of the *princeps*' manipulation of traditional calendrical structures to inscribe himself among the ancient festivals, and also shows us some of the limits of that manipulation.

In 30 B.C.E. the date of Octavian's birth was declared *feriae* and given a new character by a decree of the senate, changing it from a *dies fastus* (marked F)[3] to an NP day, the character associated with the oldest state festivals of the calendar. Though the precise meaning of the mark NP is unknown, all the dates that carried it involved a sacrifice by the pontiffs *pro populo*. The most common interpretation is that the symbol is a ligated form of NP, standing for *nefastus publicus*.[4] The series of *senatus consulta* that made imperial anniversaries NP days began in 45 B.C.E., with the commemoration of a set of Caesarian victories; in 42 Caesar's birthday on July 12 was made NP as well. New holidays thus begin to be added to the calendar within months of the introduction of the Julian revision in 46 B.C.E., making it clear that this new practice represents yet another level of Caesar's control over the calendar. Augustan NP days follow the same pattern, beginning with the commemoration of military victories in 36 and 30 B.C.E., and taking a more civilian turn with the new hol-

[3] Degrassi (*Insc. It.* 13.2, 345, 512) maintains that Sept. 23 was marked C in the pre-Julian calendar, based on Liv. 43.16.12. Cf. Michels, *Calendar*, 180.

[4] On the meaning of the mark NP, see Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 332–34; Michels, *Calendar*, 68–83; Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit*, 258–60, who argues that it abbreviates *nefas piaculum*. In the pre-Julian calendar, the mark fell on forty-nine dates: the kalends of March (the first day of the old year), the ides of every month, and thirty-six of the forty-five dates which are individually named. Michels (76–77) discusses the nine named days which are not NP.

iday in honor of his birth.[5] Earlier additions to the schedule of *dies feriati* had retained their old characters, so that the creation of new NP days is a striking departure from tradition. The effect of this innovation, nonetheless, is to inscribe Caesar and Augustus in the very foundations of the calendar, giving their new holidays the calendrical look and feel of ancient festivals.[6]

Augustus' birthday also presents another calendrical twist. The Julian calendar's addition of one day to September has led to a modern controversy about the day of Augustus' birth. If Augustus maintained the old calendrical date for his birthday after the change of the calendar, i.e., IX k. Oct., then he was actually born on the day we now call September 22. On the other hand, he may have adjusted the date of his birthday when the calendar was revised, changing it from VIII k. Oct. to IX k. Oct. and thereby continuing to celebrate the actual astronomical day of his birth, our September 23. In support of the latter hypothesis, there is some indication that Augustus' birthday was sometimes (and in some places) celebrated over the course of two days, the 23rd and the 24th of September, i.e., IX and VIII k. Oct. It has been suggested that this two-day celebration includes the standard celebration on the Julian date, but preserves the memory of the date that used to correspond to the same astronomical day.[7] This two-day celebration would thus also commemorate the correction of the calendar which seems so closely linked to these insertions of the *principes* in the schedule of festivals.

Michels has suggested that the change of date of Augustus' birthday was designed to preserve a happy calendrical coincidence between his birth and the *dies natalis* of the earliest temple of Apollo at Rome, which, like other religious observances, would have shifted its date in the transition to the Julian calendar in order to maintain its

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[5] Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 369 has a full list of NP days instituted from 45 B.C.E. on.

[6] The *Fasti Pinciani*, which date to soon after 30 B.C.E., print the first three letters of the entry on Augustus' birthday in large letters (FER, the abbreviation for *feriae*), assimilating it to the large-letter entries for the older named days (cf. plates in Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 48). This practice does not continue in the later calendars, but cf. below, on the Augustalia.

[7] Cf. Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 513; Michels, *Calendar*, 180–81; W. Suerbaum, "Merkwürdige Geburtstage: Der nicht-existierende Geburtstag des M. Antonius, der doppelte Geburtstag des Augustus, der neue Geburtstag der Livia und der vorzeitige Geburtstag des älteren Drusus," *Chiron* 10 (1980): 327–55. See Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit*, 384–89 on Caesar's management of the addition of new days and its effects on the reckoning of dates.

previous relation to the preceding ides.[8] The temple's history, however, makes this suggestion hard to support. It was founded in 431 B.C.E. by Cn. Julius Mento,[9] restored once in 353 B.C.E.[10] and again by C. Sosius, probably between 30 and 28 B.C.E.[11] At some point in this history, the dedication date was moved from July 13 to September 23. Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell whether the new *dies natalis* of the temple belongs to the earlier or later restoration, though more evidence points to the later date.[12] If the date was changed in the later reconstruction then the re-dedication postdates the emergence of Octavian as *princeps*, and the coincidence of its date with his birthday was surely not the result of chance, but was designed as a complement to the *princeps* by Sosius, a supporter of Antony only recently reconciled to Octavian.[13] It may, indeed, have followed closely upon the *senatus consultum* of 30 B.C.E. that made the *princeps*' birthday a holiday.

It is worth noting, however, that the calendrical correlation of this temple's *dies natalis* and that of a Caesar was, in fact, nothing new. The old *dies natalis* of the temple on July 13 coincided with Julius Caesar's birthday. When the birthday became a state holiday, it was celebrated instead on the 12th, in order to avoid a ritual conflict with the god; it nonetheless fell solidly within the *ludi Apollinares*, which extended from July 7 to 13. By celebrating Caesar's birthday during Apollo's games, the Romans kept him under the calendrical sphere of the god, but forebore to usurp the god's festal day.[14] Gagé has pointed out, however, that happy chance is unlikely to have

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[8] Michels, *Calendar*, 181.

[9] Liv. 4.25.3, 4.29.7. The Julian founder is also fortuitous for Apollo's later Augustan associations.

[10] Liv. 7.20.9.

[11] Plin. *N.H.* 13.53, 36.28; cf. *LTUR* 1, 49–54, *s.v.* "Apollo, aedes in Circo." The modern remains of the temple of 'Apollo Sosianus' belong to this restoration.

[12] J. Gagé, *Apollon Romain: essai sur le culte d'Apollon et le dévelopement de "ritus Graecus" à Rome des origines à Auguste*, (Paris: E. D. Boccard, 1955), 468.

[13] The restoration may have begun earlier, just after Sosius' triumph *ex Judaea* in 34 B.C.E., possibly as a piece of triumviral competition: on this issue, see Gagé, *Apollon*, 494–98; P. Gros, *Aurea Templa: Recherches sur l'Architecture Religieuse de Rome à l'Époque d'Auguste* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1976), 211–29; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 65–69.

[14] See Gagé, *Apollon*, 285 and 498 n. 1; on Caesar's Apollonism, see also 467–73. In a broader sense, however, the month as a whole became Caesar's, not only because of the change of its name to honor the dictator, but also because of the transfer of the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* to July 20–30. Originally held in association

brought about both the correlation between Julius' birthday and the old dedication date and the one between Octavian's birthday and the new dedication date. The indications of calendrical manipulation to replicate this 'coincidence' for Octavian point to the power the calendar had to express and encourage associations, here both between Octavian and Apollo and between Octavian and Caesar.

Whether the dedication of the temple of Apollo Sosianus on September 23 was by coincidence or by design, another five temples were also rededicated on the same day in the first years of Augustus' principate, and all in the Campus Martius near the Circus Flaminius: a temple of Neptune was built by Agrippa in 25 B.C.E. and dedicated on this day; temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina were rededicated in the Porticus Octaviae, rebuilt by (and named for) Augustus' sister in memory of her son Marcellus, who died in 14 B.C.E.; the connection of the temples of Mars *in campo* (or *ad circum Flaminium*) and Felicitas *in campo* to Augustus are less clear, but it is likely that they too were restored under his care or direction.[15] This grafting of the *dies natales* of temples onto his own demonstrates clearly Augustus' use of a malleable calendrical tradition to emphasize and elaborate the fixed date of his birth. In addition, the choice of gods to commemorate seems significant, particularly Apollo, whom Octavian had early begun to claim as a patron;[16] Mars, who is elaborated in Augustan ideology as *Ultor* and father of the Romans; and Jupiter and Juno, the Olympian counterparts to Augustus and Livia.[17]

These last gods who share Augustus' birthday may also have been chosen to make a connection between this date and the earlier part

with the dedication date of the temple of Venus Genetrix on Sept. 26, the games were soon moved to the July date. An association with the renaming of the month seems the most apparent and accessible meaning of the transfer (but cf. Mommsen, *CIL* I.1^2 397), so that the *ludi* emphasized the new 'Julian' nature of the month. On the games, see Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 485 ff. Caesar's model for these games was the *ludi Victoriae* of Sulla, instituted in 82 B.C.E., and called *Sullanae* after the institution of the Caesarian games. Sulla's games, however were calendrically linked to the victory they commemorated, the battle of the Porta Collina on Nov. 1—the games ran from Oct. 26 to Nov. 1 (Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 525–26). Caesar's games were clearly a more movable signifier, referring to more than a single victory.

[15] On all these temples and their rededications, see Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 512.

[16] Gagé, *Apollon*, 477–98.

[17] Cf. Gros, *Aurea Templa*, 34. Gagé also suggestions a significance in the triad of Neptune, Mars and Apollo, the three gods to whom dedications were made after the victory at Actium (*Apollon*, 510–12). See also Pollini, "Man or God."

of the month of September. Augustus restored another, more ancient temple of Juno Regina on the Aventine (*R.G.* 19), retaining the old dedication date on the kalends of September. The kalends of every month were sacred to Juno, and many of them carried very old rites to the goddess; this temple was supposed to have been built by M. Furius Camillus in 396 B.C.E. The antiquity of the cult perhaps explains Augustus' reluctance to change the *dies natalis* of this particular temple.[18] However, Augustus added to the kalends the dedications of two more temples, the rebuilt temple of Jupiter Libertas, also on the Aventine, and the new temple of Jupiter Tonans on the Capitoline (vowed in 26 and dedicated in 22 B.C.E.).[19] The calendrical association of these three temples on the kalends of September bestows immediate legitimacy on the new temple, and also is echoed in the paired temples of Juno Regina and Jupiter Stator dedicated after 14 B.C.E. on Augustus' birthday.

Two further important *feriae* fell between the newly elaborated kalends of September and Augustus' birthday. First, September 2 was made *feriae ex senatus consulto* and changed to an NP day in 31 B.C.E. in commemoration of Augustus' victory at Actium. Apollo was, of course, closely associated with the Actian victory and the linking of Augustus with the god on his birthday might make reference back to the calendrical commemoration of the victory earlier in the month. Second, the dedication date of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline fell on September 13, with games in the god's honor, the *ludi Romani* or *magni*, extending from the 4th to the 19th. The temple, in which Jupiter was flanked by Juno Regina (whom we have already met both on the kalends of the month and on Augustus' birthday) and Minerva, was supposed to have been vowed by Tarquinius Priscus and dedicated in the first year of the Republic. The most revered temple in Rome, it was associated with the foundation of the Republic, with triumphators and empire, with records and the Sibylline books.[20] Augustus had restored the temple, but without the addition of his name (*R.G.* 20). It may be that the presence of this important *feriae Iovis* and the games associated with it

[18] On the temple of Juno Regina on the Aventine, see *LTUR* 3, 125–26, *s.v.* "Iuno Regina." On its dedication date, Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 505.

[19] Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 504.

[20] Cf. Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 69–95.

in the days preceding Augustus' birthday served as the impetus behind the Jovian elaboration of both the kalends and the 23rd. The almost constant calendrical presence of Jupiter from the start of the month through the *princeps*' birthday built a unit advertising Augustus' link to this prestigious cult.

Thus, despite the officially defined *causa* of the Julian holiday on September 23—*F(eriae) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), q(uod) e(o) d(ie) Imp. Caesar Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) | ma[x(imus)] natus est*—[21] the implicit of this festival was enriched and gradually elaborated by implied connections with other calendrical events in September. Some of these events were orchestrated by the *princeps* himself, or by his associates, such as the dedication of temples on his birthday; others were time-honored festivals on whose prestige the new holiday might draw. The connections are encouraged by the calendar's structure, but are nonetheless only implicit, and the new holiday required the participation of the readers of the calendar to give it meaning in its calendrical context. The discursive structure of the calendar is not frozen by the Augustan holiday; rather, the holiday depends on the continued vitality of that structure to encourage its acceptance and validity as part of the Roman year.

Actian Apollo and the Augustalia

The elaboration of Augustus' birthday and its connection with the *dies natales* of temples both new and ancient by a variety of means was a gradual process, accomplished over the course of about fifteen years after Actium, but seems to have been orchestrated as a deliberate use of the calendrical structure for ideological purposes. Another Augustan festal complex shows a very different development, in which associations perhaps made in an earlier period because of the chance calendrical proximity of two events are finally given calendrical expression after Augustus' death.

On October 9, 28 B.C.E. Octavian dedicated his Palatine temple to Apollo, vowed in 36,[22] but considered by contemporaries an *ex voto* dedication from the battle of Actium in 31.[23] Curiously, the

[21] *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium* ad diem, Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 512.
[22] Dio 49.15.5, Vell. Pat. 2.81.3, Suet. *Aug.* 29.3.
[23] Gagé, *Apollon*, 491–92.

calendrical date bears no relation to either the Actian victory on September 2, 31 B.C.E. or Octavian's triumphs in August of 29.[24] The date may have been chosen for its prior associations: the day was already *feriatus* in honor of the Genius Populi Romani, and was likely also the *dies natalis* of temples of Venus Victrix and Fausta Felicitas. Though little is known of any of these cults, the *genius* of the Roman people is clearly an older cult, and may have been the first occupant of this date.[25] The cults of Venus Victrix and Fausta Felicitas are almost certainly Sullan in origin, and are closely linked to military success.[26] Sulla's interest in the cult of the Genius Populi Romani suggests that the association of the three cults on this date should probably be attributed to him.[27] Octavian's insertion of his new Apollonine cult on this date makes it part of an essentially triumphal context, a calendrical parallel to the placement of the temple on the Palatine alongside the early third-century temple of Victoria and the second-century temple of Victoria Virgo.[28]

Another possible association of this date which is not marked by the calendars is suggested by Dio's account of the events of 28 B.C.E.:

> τό τε Ἀπολλώνιον τὸ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ περὶ αὐτὸ, τάς τε ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων, ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσε. καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ γενομένῃ ψηφισθεῖσαν ἤγαγε μετὰ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου . . . καὶ αὔτη μὲν διὰ πέντε ἀεὶ ἐτῶν μέχρι του ἐγίγνετο, ταῖς τέσσαρσιν ἱερωσύναις ἐκ περιτροπῆς μέλουσα . . . καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐπράχθη . . .
>
> [He built and dedicated the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, and the precinct around it, and the libraries. In addition, together with Agrippa,

[24] Ibid., 514, 525.

[25] Liv. 21.62.10 records a major sacrifice to the god in 218 B.C.E.; Dio mentions his Capitoline temple at 47.2.3 (43 B.C.E.) and 50.8.2 (32 B.C.E.). Most importantly, the *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium* (36–21 B.C.E., with additions in several hands) record a sacrifice to the Genius Publicus on Oct. 9 in an earlier hand than the one recording the sacrifices to Fausta Felicitas, Venus Victrix, and Apollo on the same day (Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 518). Altars to the two goddesses near the temple of the Genius Publicus may have been elevated in the cult in association with the Augustan elaboration of this date: cf. *LTUR* vol. 2, 242–43, *s.v.* "Fausta Felicitas;" Richardson, *Topographical Dictionary*, 411, *s.v.* "Venus Victrix".

[26] H. Erkell, *Augustus, Felicitas, Fortuna* (Göteborg, 1952), 71–72; Schilling, *Vénus*, 272–301.

[27] Gagé, *Apollon*, 525–26.

[28] Cf. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 214; T. P. Wiseman, "Cybele, Vergil and Augustus," in *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*, ed. T. Woodman and D. West (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 117–28, esp. 125–26.

> he put on the festival voted in honor of the victory at Actium . . . And this same festival takes place every fourth year to this day, and is the responsibility of the four priesthoods in turn . . . and these things happen for several days . . .]
>
> (Dio 53.1.3–6)

These quadrennial games at Rome in honor of the Actian victory are almost certainly to be linked with a similar set of games established by Augustus at Nicopolis, the town he founded at the site of his last camp at Actium, and were likely coordinated with their four-year cycle; without a doubt the Roman games began in 28 B.C.E., the same year as those at Nicopolis.[29] The calendrical date of these games is unknown, but Gagé has suggested that Dio's paratactical linking of two Actium-related events in the same year implies a calendrical relationship between the two, so that the games were most likely celebrated around the *dies natalis* of the Palatine temple. The link would have preserved the Augustan votive associations of both the games and the temple, and would have outfitted the new temple with games that extended its celebration by several days in some years and increased its prestige.

In 19 B.C.E., a second Augustan holiday was added to the month of October, celebrating the *princeps*' return to the city on October 12 after three years in the provinces.[30] The day was commemorated with the dedication of an altar to Fortuna Redux by the Porta Capena where Augustus had entered the city; its character designation was changed from C to NP and it was given the name 'Augustalia'. This last detail the *princeps* deemed worthy of inclusion in his *Res Gestae* (11) and deserves more attention. The name of the new festival is an archaizing imitation of some of the oldest festivals of the Roman calendar, two of which, the Meditrinalia and the Fontinalia, flank the new holiday on October 11 and 13.[31] The point was not

[29] Suet. *Aug.* 18; cf. Gagé, *Apollon*, 509–14; see also J. Gagé, "Actiaca," *MEFRA* 53 (1936): 37–100, esp. 92–97. Dio may be describing the same quadrennial games Augustus commemorates in *R.G.* 9.1 as the result of vows for his health.

[30] Given the calendrical awareness on Augustus' part which we have already observed, it is not out of the question that the day for his return was carefully chosen; cf. Caesar's apparent coordination of the announcement of the victory at Munda with the Parilia (Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 175–76).

[31] Cf. Agonalia, Carmentalia, Lupercalia, Quirinalia, Feralia, Terminalia, Liberalia, Cerialia, etc.

missed by the makers of calendars, who consistently carve the abbreviation for the day's name (AUG) in the large letters characteristic of the early festivals.[32] This new holiday, more than any before it, makes use of the calendrical conventions to underline its presence alongside of and on the same level with the traditional and time-honored rites of the year.

The two flanking festivals demonstrate a further signification of the new festival's name: Festus tells us that the vintage festival of the Meditrinalia, attributed in the calendars to Jupiter, is named for a goddess 'Meditrina', unknown elsewhere;[33] Varro attributes the Fontinalia to the god 'Fons', whose cultic existence is a bit more likely, though other sources consider the Fontinalia simply a festival of fountains.[34] Working on the analogy of festivals like the Cerialia and the Volcanalia, Varro and Festus assume that a god's name is at the root of the festival names' adjectival forms. The naming of a festival after Augustus on the same pattern was an honor indeed, and took the calendrical honors of the *princeps* to a new, quasi-divine level.

Though the calendrical proximity of the *dies natalis* of the temple of Actian Apollo on October 9 and the Augustalia on October 12 would seem to make associative connections between these two important Augustan holidays likely, we have no clear evidence of such connections in Augustus' lifetime. The Actian games may have filled the days between October 9 and 12 every four years, but this is highly speculative. Another rather difficult passage of Dio indicates that there may have been games associated with the Augustalia as early as 11 B.C.E., which again might have bridged the calendrical gap between the two Augustan festivals,[35] but the calendars of

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[32] Cf. Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 53 (*Fast. Sab.*), 81 (*Fast. Maff.*), 194 (*Fast. Amit.*), 209 (*Fast. Ant. Min.*).

[33] Festus-Paulus 110L; cf. Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 519.

[34] Var. *L.L.* 6.22; Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 520.

[35] Dio 54.34.1–2 (ad 11 B.C.E.). The problem with the passage hinges on the final sentence, which most commentators read as expressing an opposition between the birthday celebration and the Augustalia of Oct. 12 (Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 516; F. W. Sturz, *Annotationes ad Dionis Cassii Historiam Romanam*, 9 vol. [Leipzig: Libraria Kuehniana, 1824–1836], vol. 2, 139, nn. 306–7). The true opposition, however, is between the previous years' birthday celebrations, which were not sanctioned by a *senatus consultum*, and this year's Augustalia, which was so sanctioned. Dio elsewhere calls the birthday celebrations the Augustalia (56.29.1 [ad 13 C.E.]), and the sentence makes much more sense if both clauses of the μέν . . . δέ . . . sentence refer

this period show no traces of these games. To err on the side of caution, we must assume that any associative connection between the two dates did not find expression in public cult in the early period.

Following Augustus' death on August 19, 14 C.E. the situation changes, however: Tacitus reports the institution of annual *ludi Augustales* soon after Augustus' death (*Ann.* 1.15) and in the calendars these new games run from October 5 until the Augustalia proper on the 12th.[36] The games create a rather large block of days dedicated to *divus Augustus*, culminating with the Augustalia, but with a central node provided by the *dies natalis* of the temple of Actian Apollo on October 9. The choice of this period in which to honor the *princeps*-turned-god with games is telling: it builds upon the older festival of the Augustalia whose name already carried an implication of divinity; in addition, it incorporates the day commemorating the *princeps*' most prominent divine patron and model, the god with whom Augustus shared his house. The *ludi Augustales* thus inscribe and reinforce calendrical associations between these two Augustan holidays, rereading each in relation to the other and in the context of Augustus' apotheosis.

A coda to the development of this calendrical complex reminds us that new meanings continued to be built into and from the calendar after Augustus. Tiberius' popular nephew Germanicus quite inconveniently died on October 10, 19 C.E., in the middle of the *ludi Augustales*. The post mortem honors paid to Germanicus were extravagant and elaborate,[37] and the event has its reflection in the calendars. While we have only two calendars that post-date Germanicus' death and preserve October 10, one, the *Fasti Antiates Ministrorum*, commemorates the day as *Infer(iae) Germanic(i)*, a funereal day in honor of Germanicus. The same calendar shows an unusual pattern of dates for the *ludi Augustales*, placing their first day on October 3

to the same festival, that is, the birthday celebrations. Dio 55.6.6 records that Augustus accepted from the senate the honor of circus games on his birthday in perpetuity in 8 B.C.E., three years after the *senatus consultum* mentioned above. The first calendar recording *ludi circenses* on Augustus' birthday dates to 8 B.C.E.–4. C.E. (Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 80, 84). The first calendar recording *ludi Augustales* in October dates to soon after 20 C.E. (Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 194–95, 200). In sum, I remain unconvinced that *ludi Augustales* were held in October during Augustus' lifetime.

[36] Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 516.

[37] Tac. *Ann.* 2.83.

rather than October 5, and failing to record *ludi* on October 10 and 11; October 12 is called the Augustalia as usual, and *ludi in circo* are noted.[38] This anomaly has been explained since Degrassi's edition of the calendar in light of the newly discovered Tabula Siarensis, a fragment of a decree and law of 19 C.E. prescribing post mortem honors for Germanicus.[39] Though the passage has significant lacunae, it clearly prescribes that some part of the *ludi Augustales* be held on the fifth day before the nones of October (October 3), so that the theatrical games might be finished before the date of Germanicus' death. The *Fasti Antiates Ministrorum* shows precisely what the change was: the *ludi* of October 10 and 11 were transferred to October 3 and 4 to allow for the proper observance of the *inferiae Germanici*. The final day of the *ludi scaenici* after this change was October 9, the *dies natalis* of Apollo's Palatine temple. The festal period resumed with *ludi circenses* on the 12th, the long-established date of the Augustalia.[40] The abrupt pause in the games lays still more emphasis on the public mourning for the young Claudian, and underlines his relationship to the divine Augustus whose games he interrupted with his untimely death. Another provision of the same law suggests that the insertion of the *inferiae Germanici* into this celebration was meant to effect the complex as a whole: in memory of Germanicus' membership in the *sodales Augustales*, his curule chair was to be placed with those of his colleagues throughout the *ludi Augustales*.[41] Transformed by the death of Germanicus, the *ludi* became, at least for a while, as much a memorial to him as a celebration of *divus Augustus*.

These first two investigations of quite clear Augustan and Tiberian manipulations of the calendrical structure, falling in the latter half of the year and thus outside the scope of the *Fasti*, have allowed a demonstration of the degree to which the calendar was recognized

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[38] Cf. Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 209 and 519. The other calendar, the *Fasti Amiterni*, dates to soon after 20 C.E., with an *ante quem* of Caligula's reign (Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 200). In light of the *lex Valeria Aurelia* (see below), the fact that this calendar shows the *ludi Augustales* on Oct. 5–12 indicates a date very close indeed to 20 C.E. or long after, when the *inferiae Germanici* had fallen out of observance

[39] Discovered in 1983 and published with conjoining and related fragments as the *Lex Aurelia Valeria*, 507–47 in Crawford, *Roman Statutes* I. Most relevant is Fr. (b), Col. I, 11–15, and commentary on 534–35.

[40] W. D. Lebek, "Augustalspiele und Landestrauer (Tab. Siar. Frg. I Col. A 11–14)," *ZPE* 75 (1988): 59–71, esp. 59–64.

[41] Tabula Hebana, 50–54 (Crawford, *Roman Statutes* I, 521); cf. also Tac. *Ann.* 2.83.

and used by the Julio-Claudians as an ideological tool, without bringing in the added complications of the Ovidian calendar-poem. In both instances, the calendar is used to build symbolic capital, not just on the largest scale of calendrical reforms and display, which I discussed in the first chapter of this study, but also through the strategic placement and elaboration of new holidays to take advantage of the calendar's traditional structure and ways of building meaning. The prescribed *causae* of the new festivals did not prevent their participation in the more open structure provided by the calendar, or their reinterpretation in changing historical and calendrical circumstances. Turning now to Ovid's treatment of another set of Julio-Claudian holidays, I will argue that the poetic connections Ovid makes between these holidays and their calendrical contexts are mimetic of the associative connections a 'reader' of the Julio-Claudian calendar might make. Many of Ovid's readings are not in evidence elsewhere, though some are, and some are quite clearly misreadings, whether purposeful or not. Throughout, however, the *Fasti* explores the ways these new holidays interact with one another and with the older calendrical layers, always on the assumption that they do interact.

Domus Augusta, Pax Augusta: *January 11–30*

Two major Augustan events define the latter portion of January in the Julio-Claudian calendars. Between January 13 and 16, 27 B.C.E., Octavian officially returned control of the state to the hands of the senate and people, received the *corona civica*, the *clipeus virtutum*, and the privilege of having his doorway decorated with laurel, and was granted the *cognomen* Augustus.[42] On January 30, 9 B.C.E., Augustus dedicated the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, a permanent proclamation of his military control over the empire, an ideological masterpiece inscribing the Augustan vision of the Roman state, and a dynastic monument *par excellence*. In *Fasti* 1.515–722, a section revised extensively in exile, Ovid weds these two events to one another, and to other dates both traditional and Augustan in the latter half of January, by

[42] *R.G.* 34; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 89–100; Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 396–97, 400.

reiterating the themes of the *domus Augusta*, and the peace that depends on the prosperity of that house.[43]

From the beginning, Ovid's treatment of the events of 27 B.C.E. performs a deft act of combination, placing on the ides both the 'restoration' of the republic and the re-naming of Augustus, which actually took place three days apart (587–90);[44] the oak *corona civica*, also granted on January 16, is mentioned at the end of the passage (1.614). As Herbert-Brown has pointed out, these events were so closely associated in the minds of Romans that they were essentially part of the same event;[45] Augustus himself narrates them in quick succession as cause and effect: . . . *rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli. Quo pro merito meo senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum* [I transferred the state from my own power into the control of the senate and the Roman people. For this service I was named 'Augustus' by senatorial decree] (*R.G.* 34.1–2). In addition, Ovid's transfer of the honorific cognomen to this date takes advantage of Jupiter's association with all the ides of the year.[46] Ovid follows the introductory mention of the god in line 587 (*Idibus in magni* . . . *Iovis aede* . . . [On the ides in the temple of great Jupiter . . .]) with an exegesis of the name 'Augustus' emphasizing its connection to Jupiter: *hic socium summo cum Iove nomen habet* [He has a name shared with highest Jupiter] (608); *huius et augurium dependet origine verbi/et quodcumque sua Iuppiter auget ope* ['Augury' comes from the same root as this word and whatever Jupiter 'augments' with his power] (611–12).[47]

[43] On post-exilic revision, see Fantham, "Ovid, Germanicus," esp. 258–63, to which this section owes much. See also Green, *Ovid*, Fasti *I* for valuable comments on these passages. On the *domus Augusta*, see also Ch. 1 under "*Exempla imitanda posteris*: providing for the future."

[44] Cf. Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 400. Dio 53.16.4–8 assigns most of the associated honors to the period in which Augustus' relinquishing of special powers and apportioning of the provinces was under discussion, but says the honorific name was granted only afterward.

[45] Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 200–201; but see Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 92–99.

[46] Cf. *Fast.* 1.56.

[47] Cf. Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 201–3. On Jupiter and Augustus, Zanker, *Power of Images*, 230–34; on the motif in Ovid, Scott, "Emperor Worship." Ovidian examples of the identification of Augustus with Jupiter are often a bit dissonant, especially in the *Metamorphoses*, where Jupiter's role is primarily as a philanderer and rapist. Newlands (*Playing with Time*, 45–47) offers a similar interpretation of a Jovian reference in the *Fasti* (1.649–50) by connecting it closely with an astrological reference to Aquarius/Ganymede that follows (1.651–54); but cf. E. Fantham's review,

Besides the *princeps*' affinity with Jupiter, Ovid gives another reason for Augustus' singular name: he had conquered the world, and thus could hardly take an honorific title from a single conquered nation, as many before him had done (599–60). Augustus' name is thus connected with his military power, his victories, his *imperium*. The topic arises again at the end of the passage:

augeat imperium nostri ducis, augeat annos,
protegat et vestras querna corona fores:
auspicibusque deis tanti cognominis heres
omine suscipiat, quo pater, orbis onus.

[May [Jupiter] augment the power of our leader, may he augment his years, and may the oaken crown protect your doorposts; under the gods' auspices, may the heir of so great a name take up, by the same omen as his father, the burden of the world.]

(1.613–16)

This passage is one of the few beyond the proem addressed to poem's dedicatee, Germanicus, so that a dynastic element immediately comes into play as Ovid tells the young prince about his grandfather's name, which he may one day inherit. This dynasticism is made explicit in 615–16, as Ovid wishes for a smooth succession between Augustus and his heir Tiberius. We might even read a literalization of the *domus Augusta* in Ovid's prayer that the *corona civica*, placed over the door of Augustus' Palatine home, might protect that door. The oaken crown was originally a military honor, awarded *ob cives servatos*, but its placement over Augustus' door seems to have encouraged its ideological connection with dynasty. It is assimilated in coins to the diadems of Hellenistic kings, and in coinage of 13 B.C.E. appears over the head of Augustus' daughter Julia, depicted with her sons Gaius and Lucius.[48] Ovid's prayers for the longevity of the *dux* and his rule, and for the continuation of that rule by his son, link the *domus Augusta* to *imperium* and the administration of the world.

Though this connection between *domus* and *imperium* emerges rather logically from the commemoration of the events of 27 B.C.E., it has also been prepared for by Ovid's entry on the Carmentalia of January 11, directly preceding the passage at hand. The section chronicles

"Ovid's *Fasti*," *CR* 47.1 (1997): 46–48. Here, however, there is nothing to signal an ironic reading of the association between Augustus and the god.

[48] Zanker, *Power of Images*, 93–94, fig. 76 c and 216, fig. 167 b.

Evander's arrival in Italy, his mother Carmenta's encouragement to the exile and prophecies inspired by the future site of Rome, and the Hercules and Cacus episode. Carmenta's prophecies touch on many of the same themes observed above. Beginning with an address to "the land about to give new gods to heaven" (510), Carmenta predicts a world empire for Rome (515–18), and then turns to the fall of Troy and Aeneas' wars in Italy (519 ff.). Aeneas, of course, leads directly to Augustus:

> *'iam pius Aeneas sacra et, sacra altera, patrem*
> *adferet: Iliacos accipe, Vesta, deos.*
> *tempus erit cum vos orbemque tuebitur idem,*
> *et fient ipso sacra colente deo,*
> *et penes Augustos patriae tutela manebit:*
> *hanc fas imperii frena tenere domum.*
> *inde nepos natusque dei, licet ipse recuset,*
> *pondera caelesti mente paterna feret,*
> *utque ego perpetuis olim sacrabor in aris,*
> *sic Augusta novum Iulia numen erit.'*

> ['Now pious Aeneas brings the holy objects, and another holy object, his father: receive the Ilian gods, Vesta. The time will come when the same man will look after you and the world: your rites will take place under the direction of a god, and the guardianship of the fatherland will rest in the power of the Augusti; it is right that this house hold the reins of empire. Then the grandson and son of a god, although he himself will refuse it, will bear his father's burden with a divine mind, and just as I will someday be given sacrifice on eternal altars, thus Julia Augusta will be a new god.']
>
> (1.527–36)

In this passage Ovid again links the *domus Augusta* to world rule, figured as both *tutela* and *imperium*. More clearly than in 613–16, Ovid plays here with the relationship between the literal house of Augustus on the Palatine and the *domus Augusta*: Carmenta's promise to Vesta that she will one day be looked after by the same man who looks after the world hints at the shrine of the goddess dedicated in the *princeps*' house in 12 B.C.E.,[49] a suggestion reinforced by *penes Augustos* and *hanc . . . domum*. Like the treatment of Augustus' name discussed above, this passage is closely tied up with Tiberius' succession (esp.

[49] Cf. Fantham, "Ovid, Germanicus," 261. See below, "*Aufer, Vesta, diem*: Resettling Vesta on April 28.".

533–34), but another member of the *domus* figures prominently as well: Carmenta offers herself as a model for the deification of Livia, whom she calls by the honorific name granted after Augustus' death, Julia Augusta. The festival itself is proof of Carmenta's deification: *at felix vates, ut dis gratissima vixit,/possidet hunc Iani sic dea mense diem* [But the lucky prophetess, since she greatly pleased the gods in life, occupies this day in Janus' month] (1.585–86); Ovid construes it as a guarantor of Livia's as well. The model suggests that Livia will be deified as mother of Tiberius, rather than as wife of Augustus. Nonetheless, the use of her new name at the end of the passage links the prediction of deification to the renaming of Augustus in the next calendrical entry: Livia's status as Julia Augusta depends on her relationship to both Tiberius and Augustus. Ovid thus reads the Carmentalia, in its juxtaposition with the Julio-Claudian celebration on the 13th, as a calendrical precedent and pattern to which the honors paid to the *domus Augusta* can be matched.

The final section of Ovid's Carmentalia narrative adduces a model for the deification of Augustus himself in Hercules. Ovid tells the familiar story of Hercules' defeat of the monster Cacus and the divine honors he received in thanks from Evander's Arcadians. In addition, Carmenta gives the hero (much as she has just given Livia) a prophecy ensuring his imminent apotheosis (583–84). Hercules has long been understood as typologically linked to Augustus in *Aeneid* 8, and a similar operation is at work here.[50] Barchiesi focuses on this typological link in his discussion of the interaction between the Carmentalia passage and the January 13th passage, reading the hero's self-promotion in preparation for deification as a rather crass model for Augustus: Ovid's etiology of the Ara Maxima represents the altar as Hercules' foundation, set up by the hero in his own honor (1.581). Barchiesi argues that Ovid's representation of Hercules here "suggests the way in which a contemporary witness might have seen the

[50] E.g., K. W. Grandsen, *Virgil,* Aeneid *Book VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 15–16, 117–18; B. Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1963), 330–38; K. Galinsky, "Hercules in the *Aeneid*," in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's* Aeneid, ed. S. J. Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 277–94. On the calendrical link in Vergil between the rites of the Ara Maxima on August 12, which is also the date of Aeneas' arrival at the site of Rome in *Aen.* 8, and Augustus' triumphal entrance into the city on August 13, 29 B.C.E., see D. L. Drew, *The Allegory of the* Aeneid (Oxford: Blackwell, 1927), 17–19.

emperor-cult: a cult organized by the prince himself, in his own lifetime, both as a reflection of his own glory and as the grounds for his promotion to divine status."[51]

We must remember, however, the extensive revision visible in this section of the *Fasti*: Augustus is already a god when this passage is rewritten. Ovid's connection of the Carmentalia to Augustus' renaming through the models of both Carmenta and Hercules is thus a historical re-reading of both the ancient festival and the Julio-Claudian holiday. Some forty years after the fact (or through the prophetic eyes of Carmenta) Augustus' renaming is read as marking his first step out of the scale of *res humanae*, the beginning of his bid for deification. This festival's position as the first in the calendrical cycle dedicated to Augustus and his family, the first celebration of a *titulus* of the *princeps*, might sanction this reading. Elsewhere in the *Fasti*, calendrical priority is read as indicating historical or symbolic primacy: Magna Mater's games are first in the year because she is the mother of the gods and they thus cede the "beginning of honors given" to her (4.357–60); we have seen that a similar reading of calendrical priority is implicit in the etymologizing interpretations of the names of May and June as linked to the *maiores* and the *iuniores* (6.88).

If the *Fasti*'s account of the Carmentalia on January 11 is intertwined with the renaming of Augustus on January 13, we must also take a close look at the second day of the Carmentalia on January 15 (1.617–36). As we saw above, Ovid has gone to some trouble to treat the events of January 13 and 16 all on the first day; he thereby makes the two days of the Carmentalia a frame around these events.[52] While the first day of the Carmentalia provides the reader with familiar mytho-historical precedents for the honors of the *domus Augusta*, and explicitly predicts those honors, the second day tells a much stranger story: at an unidentified point in Rome's past, the privilege of traveling in carriages was taken away from the city's matrons;[53] the women responded by refusing to reproduce, aborting any fetuses

[51] Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 96–98. But cf. Prop. 4.9, D. H. 1.40.3–6, Verg. *Aen.* 8.271–72, Liv. 1.7.11.

[52] Cf. Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 93.

[53] Livy reports such a privilege granted in 395 B.C.E., in gratitude for the matrons' donation of their gold jewelry to the war effort against Veii (5.25.9).

conceived; the *patres* gave in, and restored the privilege; this second day was added to the Carmentalia in response to this crisis (619–28). Though Ovid is not specific about it, he is almost certainly referring to the matrons' demonstration against the *lex Oppia* in 195 B.C.E.: the limitation of the matrons' use of carriages was one of the provisions of the law.[54] The focus on the carriages (*carpenta*) as the primary issue is all Ovid's however, and the story of mass abortion is found only here and in Plutarch *Q.R.* 56.[55]

Carmenta's cultic link to this event ought to be her role in childbearing: she is well attested as a birth goddess, with her accompanying deities Porrima and Postverta attending normal and breech deliveries, respectively.[56] Ovid, however, does not make this connection, instead linking this episode to Carmenta through a more circuitous route: it seems the *carpenta* over which the crisis arose are named for the goddess (619–20). The etymology is, of course, wrong, and appears to be Ovid's own, as *reor* (620) seems to confess. Rather than treating Porrima and Postverta as birth goddesses, Ovid assigns them aspects of Carmenta's prophetic role: the latter sings of future events, and the former has the dubious honor of prophesying the past (1.635–37). The linking device between past, present and future provided by these prophetic goddesses and the clearly innovative nature of this etiology further justify our asking whether and how this strange story relates to the Augustan 'future' which it follows in the text.

The connection, I think, lies in the social legislation which began to be instituted in 18 B.C.E. and was still a vital political issue in the last years of Augustus' life. The social legislation, the rhetoric of which focused in large part on the production and reproduction of Roman mores through an emphasis on family life and procreation, had the effect of making private life, and particularly women's private lives, a matter of the very public discourse of law.[57] In Livy's

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[54] Liv. 34.1.3. See Porte, *Etiologie religieuse*, 378–81. As Porte observes, the quite ancient second day of the Carmentalia cannot find its origin in an incident from the second century B.C.E.

[55] Rose, *Roman Questions*, 195 suggests a common source in Verrius Flaccus.

[56] Cf. Bömer ad *Fast.* 1.462.

[57] For a summary of the evidence for (and scholarship on) the Julian laws on adultery and marriage and their effects, see S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage: Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 277–98; on the Julian laws and gender, K. Milnor, *Gender, Domesticity, and the Age of Augustus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 140–54.

treatment of the abrogation of the *lex Oppia*, the matrons' demonstration as well as the speeches for and against the law show a concern with these issues that is surely filtered through the lens of contemporary legislation and contemporary debates concerning women's place.[58] Ovid's anecdote also engages with this problematic relationship between women's lives and bodies and legislation, imagining a situation in which women use their reproductive power as political protest against a piece of social legislation, holding it hostage until their right to ride in carriages is restored; it seems the politicization of private life can backfire.[59] Ovid's situation of this passage in the midst of a complex devoted to the *domus Augusta*, one which has already brought (and will bring again) the figure of Livia, the ultimate politicized matron, to the fore, presents a somewhat disturbing alternative scenario for the politicization of the *domus*. The two days of the Carmentalia thus provide a calendrical frame to these 'added days' which both integrates and challenges the rhetoric of the *domus Augusta*.

The calendrical complex extends even further, however. The Julio-Claudian calendars record on January 16 both the renaming of Augustus (which Ovid has transferred to the 13th) and Tiberius' dedication of a temple to Concordia Augusta in 10 C.E. Tiberius planned the renovation of this temple as a dedication in his and his brother Drusus' names as early as 7 B.C.E., just before his German triumph.[60] Ovid calls that military victory the 'recent' and 'better' cause of the temple (645–48), implying that the Tiberian dedication gives new meanings to Concordia. The earlier *causa* exemplified the traditional, civil meaning of Concordia, the *concordia ordinum* Cicero was so fond of invoking: Furius Camillus vowed the temple in 367 B.C.E. after the successful resolution of a secession of the plebs (641–44). By the late Republic and early Empire the goddess' associations extended to *pax civilis*, that is, the absence of *bellum civile*.[61] The Tiberian

[58] Cf. Milnor, Gender, *Domesticity*, 154–79; Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 40–43.

[59] Barchiesi treats the matrons' abortion of their growing fetuses (*crescens . . . onus* [1.624]) as a "contradictory instance" to the power of growth embodied in the name Augustus (*The Poet and the Prince*, 96).

[60] Dio 56.25; Suet. *Tib.* 20 assigns the dedication to 12 C.E. Cf. Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* 13.2, 399–400.

[61] P. Jal, "'Pax civilis'—'Concordia'," *REL* 39 (1962): 210–31.

monument, by commemorating an external conquest, associates Concordia with the harmony of the conquered empire in an extension of the goddess' meaning that is characteristic of these last years of Augustus' reign.[62] In addition, however, the new temple had a familial element from its conception, linking the names of Tiberius and Drusus in their shared military success. The temple of Concord that would bear both their names was a monument to their fraternal harmony.[63]

Though Tiberius' exile due to familial *discordia* prevented the timely completion of the temple, it was finally dedicated in 10 C.E. At this time the temple of *Concordia Augusta* gained yet another meaning, commemorating the apparent settlement of the succession on Tiberius and the hard-won, and still tentative, familial concord of the *domus Augusta*. The intervening years had seen the deaths of Drusus and of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the disgraces of both Julias, and Tiberius' eight-year exile. A public affirmation of stability within the family was crucial, and the temple seems to have been recast in that light.[64] In the last couplet of the section, Ovid acknowledges this new meaning in a strange way, bringing Livia once again to the fore: *hanc* [i.e. *Concordiam*] *tua constituit genetrix et rebus et ara,/sola toro magni digna reperta Iovis* [Your mother established [Concord] both by her deeds and with an altar, she who alone was found worthy of great Jupiter's bed] (649–50).[65] The reference is to an altar of Concord dedicated by Livia in the Porticus Liviae; Ovid treats its June dedication in 6.637–48. The Porticus was dedicated by Tiberius and Livia jointly in 7 B.C.E. in association with same triumphal celebration mentioned above. We do not know what year the altar was added, but the ideology surrounding its inception seems to have been very different from

[62] H. F. Rebert and H. Marceau, "The Temple of Concord in the Roman Forum," *MAAR* 5 (1925): 53–78, 55.

[63] Kellum, "City Adorned," 277.

[64] Ibid., 278; Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 162–71. On Concordia in Tiberian ideology, and the concomitant implication of a lurking discord, see Levick, *Tiberius*, 86; cf. also Fantham, "Ovid, Germanicus," 262.

[65] A textual choice must be made between *hanc* in 649, and *haec*, which most of the manuscripts give. The latter makes Livia the founder of the temple of Concordia in the Forum. *Hanc* gives better sense, is the *lectio difficilior*, and is supported by parallels: *Fast.* 1.640 and 6.217–18. The double sense of the line, that Livia established Concord both with an altar and by her deeds is echoed in the *Fasti*'s later passage on this altar (6.637–38) where Livia offers both the shrine of Concordia and concord itself to Augustus.

that surrounding Tiberius' temple in the Forum. As M. Flory has shown, Livia's altar plays up Concordia's connection with family life through the associations of its *dies natalis* on June 11, a date shared with the matrons' festival of the Matralia and the *dies natalis* of Fortuna Virgo; Flory argues that it is in essence a shrine to the harmony between Livia and Augustus as an exemplum in the Augustan promotion of family life.[66] This altar, then, represents a key element in, and possibly a precursor to, the larger-scale reinterpretation of Concordia at the end of Augustus' reign. Ovid's reference to this more clearly familial Concord in the context of the January 16 dedication of the temple in the Forum signals this reinterpretation.[67]

This final couplet also serves compositional purposes, functioning as a link between this dedication and the sections of Book 1 we have already treated. Livia's presence ties this passage to the Carmentalia's promise of divine honors to the newly named Julia Augusta. As in the earlier passage, here too there is a dual emphasis on Livia as both mother of Tiberius (*tua . . . genetrix* [649]) and wife of Augustus (*sola toro magni digna reperta Iovis* [650]). The reference to Augustus as Jove in the pentameter also makes reference back to Ovid's exegesis of the name of Augustus as shared between the *principes* of gods and men (607–14). Finally, this picture of marital harmony, and indeed the picture of Livia as *genetrix*, balances Ovid's treatment of the second day of the Carmentalia, in which a conflict between wives and husbands threatened the generational continuity of Rome (621–22). The combination of Livia's June dedication to Concordia with that of her son on January 16 emphasizes both familial concord and generational continuity.

The calendar, however, offers yet another reason for this couplet at the end of the entry for the 16th. Just after Augustus' death, the following day was made *feriatus*. The *Fasti Praenestini* tell us that the change commemorated Tiberius' dedication of an altar or perhaps a statue to Augustus on that day;[68] the *Fasti Verulani* give a more

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[66] Flory, "*Sic exempla parantur*," cf. P. J. Johnson, "Ovid's Livia in Exile," *CW* 90 (1997): 403–20; C. E. Newlands, "Contesting Time and Space: *Fasti* 6.637–48," in *Ovid's* Fasti*: Historical Readings at its Bimillenium*, ed. G. Herbert-Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 225–50. Herbert-Brown (*Ovid and the* Fasti, 165–71), treats Ovid's emphasis on Livia here as a misstep in his eulogy of the *domus Augusta*, and one that would not have pleased Tiberius.

[67] Cf. Fantham, "Ovid, Germanicus," 263.

[68] Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 401.

interesting reason: *Feriae ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), quod eo die | Augusta nupsit divo Aug[us]t(o)* [Holiday by senatorial decree because on this day the Augusta was married to the divine Augustus].[69] Ovid says nothing explicitly about the anniversary of the wedding, but the final line of this passage comes close: Livia alone was found worthy of the bed of great Jove.[70] By connecting Tiberius' dedication of the Temple of Augustan Concord in the Forum to his mother's dedication in the Porticus Liviae and to the marriage of Livia and Augustus on the following day, Ovid deftly links the familial interpretation of the new temple to its place in the calendar.

In this case, we can measure Ovid's poetic choices against Tiberius' choice of the *dies natalis* for his new temple. Since the earlier temple on the same site was dedicated on July 22, we know that the January 16 date was actively chosen. The *dies natalis* of a temple traditionally commemorated its completion, so Tiberius' new date was almost certainly chosen in 10 C.E. rather than in 7 B.C.E. The new date, coinciding with Augustus' assumption of his cognomen,[71] and just preceding the anniversary of Livia and Augustus' marriage, aids in the ideological reinterpretation of this temple; constituted in memory of a military victory of the brothers Tiberius and Drusus, by the time of its dedication it also commemorated the new ideology of the *domus Augusta* and Tiberius' full inclusion in that house.

The two final Julio-Claudian entries in Book 1 continue the themes we have outlined above. A brief two couplets on the January 27 dedication of a temple to Castor and Pollux in the names of Tiberius and Drusus in 6 C.E. are preceded by the poet's strange inclusion of the Sementiva, the movable sowing festival, which naturally appears in no calendars.[72] The passage ends with thanks to the Augustan

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[69] *Fast. Ver.* dates to 14–37 C.E. Degrassi (*Insc. It.* 13.2, 401) suggests that the Tiberian dedication on this day recorded in other calendars may have been motivated by the anniversary of Augustus and Livia's marriage.

[70] For the possibility that the memory of Livia and Augustus' previous marriages, and perhaps also the philandering habits of Augustus undercut the praise in this line, see Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 44–45; Johnson, "Ovid's Livia," 417–19; and, on a similar passage in *Tristia* 2, Nugent, "*Tristia* 2," 161–64; *contra*, Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 147–48. The later marriage was the one that counted for the definition of power and dynasty: when Livia was finally deified in 41 C.E., Claudius chose this day for the *consecratio*: CIL VI.1, 2032, ll. 15–18.

[71] Cf. Kellum, "City Adorned," 278.

[72] Emphasized by the poet's futile search through the calendars (*Fast.* 1.657–58); cf. Phillips, "Roman Religion," 65.

house (*gratia dis domuique tuae* [701]) for the peace that makes farming possible; this emphasis on the *domus* brings the next lines' commemoration of the temple built for divine brothers by brothers of a divine family (*fratribus illa deis fratres de gente deorum* [707]) into our complex of associations between the *pax Augusta* and the *domus Augusta*.[73] This temple, like that of Concordia, was expressly in honor of the triumph over Germany, a 'pacification' in which Drusus and Tiberius had shared.[74] Ovid's rereading of the temple of Castor and Pollux in the context of the new familial emphasis of the Concordia temple points again to the associations encouraged by the calendrical structure.

Directly following this rereading of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the month and the book culminate with the dedication of the Ara Pacis Augustae on January 30, 9 B.C.E.:

Ipsum nos carmen deduxit Pacis ad aram:
haec erit a mensis fine secunda dies.
frondibus Actiacis comptos redimita capillos,
Pax, ades et toto mitis in orbe mane.
dum desint hostes, desit quoque causa triumphi:
tu ducibus bello gloria maior eris.
sola gerat miles, quibus arma coerceat, arma,
cantetur fera nil nisi pompa tuba.
horreat Aeneadas et primus et ultimus orbis:
siqua parum Romam terra timebat, amet.
tura, sacerdotes, Pacalibus addite flammis,
albaque perfusa victima fronte cadat;
utque domus, quae praestat eam, cum pace perennet
ad pia propensos vota rogate deos.

[The song itself has led us to the Altar of Peace: this will be the second day from the end of the month. With the laurel of the Actian victory crowning your well-arranged hair, O Peace, stand by us and remain in all the world, kind as you are. As long as there are no

[73] Cf. Fantham, "Ovid, Germanicus," 258–59.

[74] Suet. *Tib.* 20; Dio 55.27.4. Kellum, "City Adorned," 277 notes similarities between the decoration of these two temples, further indication of their ideological connection. The *Consolatio ad Liviam* upon the death of Drusus in 9 C.E. also suggests a connection between the two temples. It commemorates Drusus' role in the building of the temple of Castor and Pollux and recognizes the gods as counterparts of Tiberius and his brother (290); the Dioscuri (and thus the mortal brothers too) are called *concordia sidera* (283). On the role of Drusus' funeral honors in articulating the emerging concept of the *domus Augusta*, Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 162.

enemies, let there also be no cause for triumphs: you will be a greater glory to our leaders than war. Let the soldier bear only arms that restrain arms, and let the fierce trumpet signal only parades. Let the far reaches of the world shudder at the sons of Aeneas: if a country feared Rome too little, now let it love her. Priests, dedicate incense to the flames of Peace, and let a white sacrificial victim fall, its forehead doused with wine; and so that this peace and the house that provides it may last forever, call propitious gods to our pious prayers.]

(1.709–22)

On the one hand, Ovid's claim that "the song itself has led us to the Ara Pacis" is a gesture to the calendrical structure of the poem—a culmination in the Ara Pacis is inevitable in a poem that follows the course of the year.[75] In addition, however, we have seen in the latter half of Book 1 a building up of associations between the *domus Augusta* and the peace achieved through military control of the empire; these themes have also led us to the Ara Pacis Augustae, a monument to a peace contingent on the perpetuity of Augustus' house. This dedication, planned as early as 13 B.C.E., along with the Augustan events of January 13–16, 27 B.C.E., are the oldest of the Julio-Claudian festivals in the month, and represent the true anchors of this complex of associations.

The date of the dedication of the Ara Pacis, even without the later calendrical elaboration of the preceding days, is rife with meaning.[76] January 29 and 30 were days added to the calendar in the Julian correction, so they were in some sense Julian from the start.[77] In addition, the 30th was Livia's birthday, which, though we have no record of its official celebration until after her death,[78] was likely the object of unofficial celebrations earlier. The intentionality of this familial association with the date is made more likely by the prominence of the imperial family, and particularly of Livia, on the reliefs

[75] But see Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 74–77 for Ovid's play with calendrical necessities.

[76] Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 146, though with an error in calling the 30th the last day of January; G. W. Bowersock, "The Pontificate of Augustus," in *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, eds. K. A. Raaflaub and M. Toher (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 380–94, esp. 384.

[77] The *Fasti Praenestini* records the days added by Caesar (Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 404).

[78] *CIL* VI.1 2028, fr. c, ll. 1–4.

of the altar enclosure. The Ara Pacis was as much a monument to the genealogy and dynastic aspirations of Augustus as it was to the pacification of the empire; the reliefs figure the two as inextricably linked.[79]

The placement of the *dies natalis* of the temple in the final days of the month of Janus, a god associated with peace and one whose gate-shaped *templum* the altar's enclosure seems to imitate,[80] is also significant. Syme noted Ovid's failure to commemorate Augustus' three closings of the temple of Janus, an accomplishment treated at unusual length in *Res Gestae* 13, as a serious omission in the *Fasti*.[81] Herbert-Brown has contextualized this omission, demonstrating a pattern of vagueness as to the dates and number of these closings of the temple in all of the extant sources, and discussing a certain inconsistency of interpretation in the several passages of Book 1 in which Ovid does treat the basic idea of the closure of Janus.[82] All of these *Fasti* passages (1.70, 121–24, 277–82) occur in the *Fasti*'s entry for January 1. The *Fasti Praenestini*, however, give us our only certain date for a closing of the temple: January 11 of 29 B.C.E. The 'missing' entry on Janus' closing, then, falls precisely on the first day of the Carmentalia, the day that begins Ovid's complex linking of the *pax Augusta* and the *domus Augusta*. In some sense, this whole complex stands in for the closing of the temple of Janus: the ceremony has already been referred to repeatedly on the first day of the month, and the whole latter half of the month commemorates it. The final couplet of the Ara Pacis passage in effect 'closes' Janus' temple, and his month closes in the very next couplet.[83]

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[79] Cf. Zanker, *Power of Images*, 202–06, 217–18; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 141–55; M. K. Thornton, "Augustan Genealogy and the Ara Pacis," *Latomus* 42 (1983): 619–28; Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 104–12.

[80] *LTUR* 4, 71, *s.v.* "Pax Augusta, Ara." On Janus' association with Pax (and also with Concordia and Romana Salus): *Fasti* 3.881–82; Dio 54.35.1–2; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 146; M. Torelli, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1982), 27–35. Both Galinsky and Torelli note the juxtaposition of the Ara Pacis and the closing of the temple of Janus in Augustus *R.G.* 12–13.

[81] Syme, *History in Ovid*, 24–25; "Problems about Janus," *AJP* 100 (1970): 193–94 = *Roman Papers*, vol. 3, 1182–83.

[82] Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 187–93.

[83] A late calendrical acknowledgment of the associations between this series of January dates might be found in the *ludi Palatini*. These games, instituted by Livia just after Augustus' death, and closely tied to Augustus' Palatine house, extended from January 19 to 22, directly in the center of this complex. Their dedicatee, location, and, I would argue, date point to the ideological emphasis on the *domus Augusta*

Praeteriturus eram . . . : *The death of Caesar*

The ides of March of 44 B.C.E. is perhaps the most recognizable date in Roman history. An anecdote in Suetonius relates the omens of Caesar's death, among which was a prophecy from the haruspex Spurinna warning him of danger which would come not later than the ides of March; Caesar, Suetonius tells us, laughed at Spurinna as he entered the *curia* that day, reminding him of his prophecy about the ides.[84] Both Suetonius and Dio tell us of calendrical commemorations of the day instituted in 43, making it *religiosus* and forbidding meetings of the senate on that day. Suetonius also tells us that the day was named *Parricidium* in memory of the assassination.[85] While none of the extant calendars which preserve the ides of March commemorate the death of Caesar, the earliest of these is dated to between 8 B.C.E. and 4 C.E. and is very sparing in its annotation.[86] The *Fasti Praenestini*, which tend to be very expansive in their treatment of Julio-Claudian dates, do not preserve the day.[87] Whether or not the day retained the name *Parricidium* for long, it almost certainly continued to be commemorated and considered *religiosus* through Augustus' lifetime at least.

Ovid's treatment of the day has received considerable attention, in particular because of the stark contrast it presents between the assassination and the ancient festival of Anna Perenna, the popular, merry celebration of the old new year, which occupied the same date.[88]

in the course of this first dynastic succession. On the games, Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 401; N. Purcell, "Livia and the Womanhood of Rome," *PCPS* 221, n. s. 32 (1986): 78–105, esp. 90–91.

[84] Suet. *Caes.* 81.3–4; cf. Dio 44.18.4.

[85] Suet *Caes.* 88; Dio 47.19.1. Dio uses the word ἀποφράδα to describe the day, the translation of which would most logically be *nefastus*. In the imperial period *nefastus* frequently appears as a non-technical synonym for *religiosus*; cf. Michels, *Calendar*, 62–65. The ides of March were marked NP, as are the ides of every month, and continued to be, since *dies religiosi* are not indicated by calendrical character marks.

[86] Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2, 424. Herbert-Brown (*Ovid and the* Fasti, 125 n. 30) seems to have misread Degrassi's commentary as suggesting that the *Fasti Maffeiani* may have briefly mentioned the assassination.

[87] Degrassi (*Insc. It.* 13.2, 122–23, 423) does publish a fragment of the *Fasti Praenestini* which he conjectures may belong to Mar. 15. It is very incomplete, but seems to refer to a new year celebration and may be linked to the festival of Anna Perenna that fell on this date.

[88] R. J. Littlewood, "Ovid and the Ides of March [*Fasti* 3.523–710]: a Further

Ovid gives a series of etiological explanations of the festival, all working on the principle that 'Anna Perenna' is the name of a goddess: the first links the goddess to Dido's sister Anna in a strange retelling of the *Aeneid* (543–656);[89] another narrative identifies her with an old woman named Anna of Bovilla who is supposed to have fed the plebs during a famine (661–74). Ovid then gives an aetion for the festal custom in which girls sang *obscena* and *ioci*: Mars had fallen in love with Minerva, and asked the old woman, recently become a goddess, to play the part of matchmaker for him; Anna, however, played a trick on Mars, dressing herself as a bride in Minerva's place; the joke was big hit, and the annual jocularity commemorates it (695–96).

Right after this comic story, Ovid introduces the murder of Caesar:

> *Praeteriturus eram gladios in principe fixos,*
> *cum sic a castis Vesta locuta focis:*
> *'ne dubita meminisse: meus fuit ille sacerdos;*
> *sacrilegae telis me petiere manus.*
> *ipsa virum rapui simulacraque nuda reliqui:*
> *quae cecidit ferro, Caesaris umbra fuit.'*
> *ille quidem caelo positus Iovis atria vidit,*
> *et tenet in magno templa dicata foro;*
> *at quicumque nefas ausi, prohibente deorum*
> *numine, polluerant pontificale caput,*
> *morte iacent merita: testes estote, Philippi,*
> *et quorum sparsis ossibus albet humus.*
> *hoc opus, haec pietas, haec prima elementa fuerunt*
> *Caesaris, ulcisci iusta per arma patrem.*

> [I was about to pass by the blades stuck in the *princeps*, when Vesta said the following from her chaste hearth: 'Don't hesitate to commemorate it: he was my priest; impious hands aimed their weapons at me. I myself snatched up the man and left behind an empty phantom: what fell to the sword was Caesar's shade.' He, of course, was placed in the sky and saw Jupiter's home and has a temple dedicated to him in the great forum; but all those who dared this crime, when the will of the gods forbade it, and defiled the head of the pontifex, are laid low by the death they earned: be witness, Philippi, and you lands whose ground is white with scattered bones. This task, this act

Study in the Artistry of the *Fasti*," in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* II, ed. C. Deroux (Brussels: Latomus, 1980), 301–21 focuses primarily on the Anna Perenna section. Cf. also McKeown, "*Fabula proposito*."

[89] Picked up and elaborated by Silius Italicus (8.25–201).

of devotion, these first beginnings were Caesar's: to avenge his father through righteous arms.]

(3.697–710)

Much has been made of the sharp shift in mood and tone between the close of the section on Anna Perenna and these lines. Newlands reads the order and comparative lengths of the two as "insisting on the importance of the fun-loving ancient festival" in opposition to "the new moral and political decorum promulgated by the Julio-Claudian family, which was inserting itself obtrusively into Roman time and religious cult."[90] Barchiesi argues that "The strident incompatibility between these mutually irrelevant commemorations undermines the efficacy of the propaganda of Caesar's avenger."[91]

While Barchiesi's reading of Ovid's ides of March is solidly anti-Augustan, he concludes the section with a suggestion that the combination of stories produces "a sensation of conflict that stems from a perpetually open choice. In these days, being a proper Roman means celebrating Anna Perenna and Philippi every year."[92] Of course, it is not a celebration of Philippi but sorrowful remembrance of Caesar's murder which the Julio-Claudian addition to the day asks of the 'proper Roman,' but Barchiesi's observation draws attention to a real conflict in the calendar at this point, one which is not of Ovid's creation. Caesar's fatal day was fixed and it unfortunately fell on the same day as an ancient celebratory festival. Ovid both brings this calendrical tension to the fore in his poetic text and also finds calendrical meanings for the new 'intrusive' Julian anniversary.[93]

Ovid's introduction of Caesar's assassination with *Praeteriturus eram* . . . is a classic instance of the rhetorical figure of *praeteritio*, in

[90] Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 61; this argument is refined and expanded with reference to theories of the political significance of the carnivalesque in Newlands, "Transgressive Acts: Ovid's Treatment of the Ides of March," *CP* 91 (1996): 320–38.

[91] Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 127; cf. also Ahl, *Metaformations*, 315. Contra: Littlewood, "Ides of March," 319–21.

[92] Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 130.

[93] A very similar situation is presented to the poet by the coincidence on June 9 of the Vestalia and two military anniversaries, one successful, the other, the disaster at Carrhae in 53 B.C.E. The conflict between festal and mournful commemorations is again made explicit there (*scilicet interdum miscentur tristia laetis,/ne populum toto pectore festa iuvent* [6.463–64]) and that conflict is again mediated by Vesta who makes reference to Augustus and Tiberius' eventual recovery of the standards lost at Carrhae (Suet. *Aug.* 21.3, *Tib.* 9.1) as 'vengeance' (468).

which a pretense of passing over a topic in fact emphasizes it. In addition, the formula expresses a reluctance which calls attention to the conflict between what proceeds and this *dies religiosus*. Vesta's speech is designed to overcome this reluctance and lines 699–702 offer the poet Caesar's deification as consolation. As Barchiesi has observed, however, the elevated and sacral language of these lines continues throughout the passage, and makes it difficult to tell where Vesta's speech ends.[94] To read the passage as continuing in Vesta's voice reveals the double-edged nature of her persuasion and of the day's somber cast: on the one hand, it commemorates Caesar's death; on the other, Caesar's murder was the cause of a recent civil war, a war which Vesta assures the poet was necessary to avenge a sacrilege against her priest (705–8). The invocation of the fields of Philippi covered with the bones of Roman soldiers is not designed to obfuscate the tragedy of the war, however; on the contrary, the passage displays the horror of the civil war, but treats it as the necessary result of the assassination.[95] The final couplet of the section treats Caesar's death and its consequences as the formative moment of the new Caesar, adopted by the dictator's will (709–10). The line, with its play on the word for a child's ABCs (*elementa*),[96] points to the youth of Octavian when he returned to Rome as Caesar's heir, and somehow gives the passage a less than triumphant ring: the fact that Philippi was Octavian's first act of piety towards his father is not a happy thought.[97] Ovid has made no effort to underplay the conflict of tone and meaning between the joyful festival of Anna Perenna and this somber remembrance of Caesar's death and its consequences which happened to fall on the same day. The contrast, in fact, emphasizes the horror of the events of 44 B.C.E. and their results.

The one continuous thread between Ovid's accounts of Anna Perenna's joke and Caesar's murder emerges in the very last line of the latter: *ulcisci iusta per arma patrem*. Augustus' vow and dedication

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[94] *The Poet and the Prince*, 124 n. 30.

[95] Cf. Augustus' own treatment of these events in *R.G.* 2: *Qui parentem meum trucidaverunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie.*

[96] *OLD*, *s.v.* "elementum," 3; cf. Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 129.

[97] *Fast.* 5.569–70 readdresses Octavian's youth and the formative nature of his vengeance in the context of the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor. Cf. Ch. 5 under "The Young Avenger."

of a temple to Mars Ultor in commemoration of his vengeance against his father's assassins is unmistakably evoked here; the echo of this passage in Ovid's treatment of the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor confirms it, as Octavian calls on the god in his war of vengeance: '*si mihi bellandi pater est Vestaeque sacerdos/auctor, et ulcisci numen utrumque paro,/Mars, ades* . . .' ['If my father and Vesta's priest is my reason for making war, and I am preparing to avenge both gods, stand by me, Mars . . .'] (5.573–75). Mars, then, appears in Ovid's narrative of both the events on the ides of the month that bears his name. Again, however, the connecting thread marks difference more than similarity: suddenly the lovesick and comical Mars of the preceding story, the Mars who has (partially) disarmed to enter the poem (3.171–72),[98] is back in full armor and war is placed at the center of his month. This is the end of the *Fasti*'s tamed Mars, so that the murder marks a break as well in Ovid's poetics, a point beyond which Mars can no longer be translated into the elegiac code. In the evocation of Mars Ultor Ovid has found a way both to give the murder and the war meaning in the calendrical structure by linking them to the overarching 'Martial'[99] nature of the month and to replay on the level of poetics the calendrical rupture created by the juxtaposition of the festival of Anna Perenna and the murder of Caesar.

Even more obviously present than Mars in Ovid's account of Caesar's murder is Vesta, who steps in to insist on the commemoration of 'her priest's' death, and explains that she spirited away the real Caesar to Olympus so that a simulacrum fell in his place. Vesta's special interest in Caesar is based on his status as *pontifex maximus*, and she figures the attack on the *pontificale caput* as an attack on herself (699–700), and thereby an attack on the very hearth of Rome. As Herbert-Brown has observed, Vesta's connection to Caesar is based on a retrojected interpretation of the role of the *pontifex maximus*: Augustus had transformed the role upon his assumption of the priesthood in 12 B.C.E., in large part by his choice to continue to occupy his Palatine home rather than moving to the *domus publica* in the Forum. As a corollary of this choice, he established a shrine

[98] Cf. Hinds, "*Arma*—Part 1."

[99] The Mars of Book 3, like the Venus of Book 4, is constructed to organize and respond to the rites of March. He is not a god of war, plain and simple.

of Vesta in or just outside of his home, thereby fundamentally expanding the *pontifex*'s tutelary role over the cult of Vesta. Whereas previously the priest had only a supervisory role of sorts over the Vestal Virgins, and was not, it seems, allowed inside the *penus Vestae*, Augustus essentially brought the goddess into his own home, making the hearth of Rome and his own hearth synonymous. It is in this context that Vesta's account of the meaning of the attack on Caesar as *pontifex maximus* must be read.[100]

Ovid has prepared his readers for Vesta's interpretation of the events of the ides of March with his entry on March 6, the anniversary of Augustus' assumption of the role of *pontifex maximus* in 12 B.C.E., the position having been vacated by the death of Lepidus the year before. The election was important to Augustus, and he boasts in the *Res Gestae* both of his restraint in refusing the priesthood earlier and of the great multitude that poured into Rome for the election (10.2). His refusal of the priesthood during Lepidus' lifetime may have been particularly significant because of an honor voted to Caesar in 44 B.C.E. which made his position as *pontifex maximus* hereditary (Dio 44.5.3). Augustus perhaps refers to his hereditary right to the pontificate when he describes it as "the priesthood which my father had held" [*id sacerdotium . . . quod pater meus habuerat*].[101] Ovid's treatment of this event is closely tied to his treatment of Caesar's death, both pointing to Augustus' hereditary claim to the chief pontificate and creating a calendrical context within which the assassination might be integrated.

Ovid figures Augustus' *honor pontificalis* of March 6 primarily as a priesthood of Vesta. The passage begins with a summons to the Vestal virgins (417) and treats the relationship between Augustus and the goddess as between *cognata numina*, related to one another because of their Trojan origins:[102]

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[100] Cf. Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 68–71.

[101] P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore (*Res Gestae Divi Augusti: The Achievements of the Divine Augustus* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967], 52–53) deny that this statement confirms Dio's claim, arguing that if the priesthood had been made hereditary, Lepidus would have been treated as an usurper; cf. also Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 73–74. However, the unprecedented nature of the honor to Caesar would likely have brought its legitimacy into doubt, so that Augustus took the safer course by not acting on a claim based on heredity; he nonetheless can call attention to his restraint in the matter. Cf. Bowersock, "The Pontificate of Augustus," 382–83; Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 99–104.

[102] On the oddity of this expression and its possible meanings, see F. Bömer,

ignibus aeternis aeterni numina praesunt
Caesaris: imperii pignora iuncta vides.
di veteris Troiae, dignissima praeda ferenti,
qua gravis Aeneas tutus ab hoste fuit,
ortus ab Aenea tangit cognata sacerdos
numina: cognatum, Vesta, tuere caput.
quos sancta fovet ille manu, bene vivitis, ignes:
vivite inexstincti, flammaque duxque, precor.

[Over the eternal flames presides the divinity of eternal Caesar: you will see the pledges of empire joined. O gods of ancient Troy, spoils most worthy of him who carried you, burdened with which Aeneas was safe from the enemy, a priest sprung from Aeneas touches kindred gods: Vesta, watch over your kinsman's head. You fires, tended by his holy hand, live well: live on inextinguished, both flame and leader, I pray.]

(3.421–28)

Augustus is treated as yet another of the *pignora imperii*, now joined to those kept in the *penus Vestae*; he himself will touch the ancient gods of Troy, he will tend the *flamma Vestae* with his own hand. These last details clearly make reference to the dedication of the new shrine on the Palatine; Augustus' 'handling' of the goddess is given a mythological precedent in Aeneas' rescue of the Trojan gods and the Palladium from Troy.[103] A precedent is needed, of course, because of the taboo against the entrance of men into the interior chamber of the temple of the virgin goddess Vesta, where the Trojan *pignora imperii* as well as the flame itself resided. Ovid himself will make a point of this taboo in his treatment of the Vestalia in Book 6, both using it to explain cleverly Vesta's failure to appear before the male poet and explicate her cult as so many other deities in the *Fasti* have done (6.253–54), and telling the story of the *pontifex maximus* Metellus who broke the taboo and entered the temple ('*vir intrabo non adeunda viro*' ['Though a man, I will enter a place not to be entered by a man'] [450]) in order to save the *sacra Vestalia* from a fire (437–56). Like Aeneas in Book 3, Metellus in Book 6 provides a precedent for Augustus' handling of the *sacra Vestalia*. Vesta's approval of Metellus' deed (*factum dea rapta probavit,/pontificisque sui*

"Wie ist Augustus mit Vesta verwandt? Zu Ov. fast. III 425 f. und IV 949 f.," *Gymnasium* 94 (1987): 525–28.

[103] Cf. Zanker, *Power of Images*, 207.

munere tuta fuit [The goddess was snatched up and she approved the deed, and she was safe through the service of her *pontifex*] [454–55]) is followed immediately by a reference to Augustus' present tutelage of the goddess and her flame: *nunc bene lucetis sacrae sub Caesare flammae;/ignis in Iliacis nunc erit estque focis* [Now, sacred flames, you'll shine well under Augustus; now there is and will be fire on the Trojan hearths] (456–57).[104] While in Book 6, Augustus' intrusion into the *penus Vestae* is only implied, in Book 3 Ovid's emphasis on Augustus' physical contact with the *sacra* of the Vestal cult is striking (*tangit* [3.425]; *sancta . . . manu* [3.427]). He is both advertising the singularity of Augustus' relationship with Vesta and providing it with precedents.

In addition, however, Ovid's (and Augustus') reinterpretation of the pontificate depends on genealogical claims. Augustus has a particular right to this relationship with Vesta because they are part of the same family, a relationship which depends on the Julian descent from Aeneas: *ortus ab Aenea tangit cognata sacerdos/numina* [a priest sprung from Aeneas touches kindred gods] (425). Vesta, in turn, is to protect Augustus as a *cognatum . . . caput.* This new definition of the role of the *pontifex maximus* is thus closely linked to Augustus' family. The claim may be based simply on the Julian family's connection to Aeneas. However, if Dio's report that the pontificate was made hereditary for Caesar is correct, we might read a second level to Augustus' familial link to the office. The close calendrical proximity of Caesar's death and Augustus' assumption of the office of *pontifex maximus* in some sense plays out the inheritance of the office that should have been, were it not for Lepidus' inconvenient election and longevity. The historical order of events is reversed, however, so that Augustus' redefinition of the pontificate as the priesthood of Vesta, though historically subsequent to the death of Caesar, precedes it in the calendrical and poetic order. We thus find the March 6 passage offering ideological explanations of the March 15 passage as much as the reverse. In the ides of March passage, for example, Ovid grants Vesta a rather unsettling degree of physical contact with her priest, as Newlands has noted: '*ipsa virum rapui*', boasts the virgin goddess (3.701).[105] The Augustan redefinition of the pontificate on March 6

[104] Cf. Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 70–71.
[105] Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 43–44.

explains this extraordinary degree of contact as the privilege of men who are related to the goddess. Another echo of the *cognatum . . . caput* of line 426 is heard in the *pontificale caput* of 706: Vesta is asked to take care of one *cognatum* and *pontificale caput* on March 6, and takes care of another on March 15. Ovid's evocation of the earlier passage in his account of Caesar's death sets up a play between the historical and the calendrical and poetic order of events in these two passages, allowing each to provide precedents for the other, each to reinforce the ideology implicit in the other as a political, religious and calendrical event.

Augustus' election to the chief pontificate in March seems to have been extraordinary. All signs point to July as the traditional date for *comitia sacerdotium* under the Republic.[106] While I will not insist that Augustus chose the date of his election to draw these connections between his new office and Caesar's assassination, we once again find a calendrical coda from some years later which supports Ovid's reading of the calendrical significance of these two events. On March 10, 15 C.E., after Augustus' death in August of the preceding year, Tiberius was made *pontifex maximus*. The precedent set by Augustus' election was clearly powerful in defining this part of the year as appropriate for this event, and other emperors also follow his lead in placing their pontifical elections in March, always before the ides.[107] We might see reflected in this brief electoral window the sorts of connections Ovid has made: the *dies religiosus* which commemorates the murder of the *pontifex* Caesar ends the period for electing imperial pontiffs.

Aufer, Vesta, diem: *Resettling Vesta on April 28*

Both in the preceding section and in the preceding chapter, I briefly discussed Augustus' establishment of a shrine to Vesta on the Palatine:[108] in Book 4 Ovid allows a commemoration of Vesta's transferal to the

[106] T. Mommsen, *Römische Stattsrecht*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1887–1888), vol. I, 589, n. 2; vol. II, 31–32.

[107] We have direct evidence for Nero, who was elected on March 5, 51 C.E., and Otho, elected March 9, 69 C.E. (*Fast. Arv. ad diem*). Cf. Mommsen, *Römische Stattsrecht* I^3, 589, n. 2.

[108] The question of what precisely Augustus dedicated to Vesta on the Palatine

Palatine to depose Flora from her place on April 28; the effect of this move on the definition of the role of the *pontifex maximus* was important to the relationship Ovid sets up between the events of March 6 and 15. In *Fasti* 4.947–54, Ovid treats this transferal as a calendrical event, reconfiguring the calendrical topography just as it reconfigured the space of the Palatine and the ritual role of the *pontifex maximus*.

Ovid dramatically stages Vesta's appropriation of the first day of the Floralia; the theatrical goddess Flora summarily makes her exit, and Vesta takes center stage:

mille venit variis florum dea nexa coronis;
scaena ioci morem liberioris habet.
exit et in Maias sacrum Florale Kalendas:
tunc repetam, nunc me grandius urget opus.
aufer, Vesta, diem: cognati Vesta recepta est
limine; sic iusti constituere patres.

[A goddess comes, decked in garlands colored with a thousand flowers; the stage is freer in its humor. Flora's rites pass on into the first of May: I'll come back to them then; now a grander work presses upon me. Take away the day, Vesta! Vesta has been received on the threshold of her kin: thus the righteous senate decreed.]
(4.945–50)

On the one hand, this must be acknowledged as a particularly clear foregrounding of the imposition of a new holiday on the old calendrical fabric. We traced in Chapter 3 Ovid's reconnection of Flora in Book 5 to her usurped calendrical and poetic position at the end of April. Ovid's imperative, *aufer . . . diem*, can have implications of theft and critics are right to read Ovid's passage as setting up a competition of sorts between Vesta and Flora.[109]

In addition, however, the *Fasti* figures Vesta's physical move to the Palatine as likewise a move to a new calendrical and poetic locus, and we might look for a model for reading this calendrical 'space'

is still under debate, with answers ranging from simply a statue and an altar, to a real transferal or duplication of the goddess' hearth and fire, with or without a temple. Herbert-Brown discusses the question in its relation to the *Fasti* (*Ovid and the* Fasti, 74–79). Guarducci, "Enea e Vesta," 89–90 offers a summary of the history of the question. The answer to the question is less important to my study than the ideological significance of the Palatine Vesta cult.

[109] Cf. Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 135–36; Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 143.

in the architectural space which Vesta now occupies. In the lines above, the goddess is received on the threshold of her relative, Augustus. The passage continues:

Phoebus habet partem: Vestae pars altera cessit:
quod superest illis, tertius ipse tenet.
state Palatinae laurus, praetextaque quercu
stet domus: aeternos tres habet una deos.

[Phoebus has part; another part yields to Vesta; what is left over from them, he himself keeps, third in line. Stand firm, Palatine laurels, and let the house crowned with oak stand firm: one house holds three immortal gods.]

(4.951–54)

Ovid describes the temple of Apollo, the house of Augustus and the new sanctuary of Vesta as all of a piece, one house, shared among the three. Augustus, the original owner of the space who has ceded part of his home to Apollo, and now to Vesta as well, might serve as a model for Flora, gracefully withdrawing to "what is left over." If Augustus' physical association with Vesta, his ceding of space to her, carried the benefit of bringing him ideologically closer to her, of assimilating him to his *numen cognatum*, can we see any parallel benefit to Flora? Newlands has observed a certain respectability and matronly quality to Ovid's Flora[110] which befits a goddess who shares the first day of her festival with the chaste Vesta Mater.

More importantly, there is some evidence that this new resident of April used Flora to help her fit comfortably into the complex of associations we discussed in the preceding chapter. One of the key pieces of evidence in the discussion of Augustus' dedication to Vesta on the Palatine is an Augustan statue base in Sorrento (see Plate 2) which depicts on one of its four faces a procession of Vestals towards a seated figure of the goddess; another female figure stands on each side of the goddess. In the background is a round temple, flanked by pillars topped with a statue of a bull on the left and a statue of a ram on the right.[111] Visible in the doorway of the temple is an

[110] Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 108–9.

[111] The identity of these animals, unclear on the heavily worn Sorrento base, is verified by comparison with another relief depicting Augustus sacrificing to a seated Vesta with a miniaturized depiction of the two pillars and their statues (Guarducci, "Enea e Vesta," tab. 65) and a Tiberian coin showing the round temple flanked by the two pillars (tab. 63, pl. 2).

armed statue of Athena representing the Palladium, one of the guarantors of empire with whose care Vesta was charged. The other sides of the base mark the location of this scene as the Palatine: one incomplete face shows Magna Mater, a Corybant, and a lion; another shows Apollo flanked by Leto and Diana. Both of these cults were prominently placed on the Palatine, and enjoyed Augustus' patronage. A third panel, also incomplete, shows Mars Ultor, Cupid and the Genius Augusti; the missing portion was likely filled by Venus Genetrix, the clear complement to this group of Julian gods. In the background of these figures is the facade of Augustus' house, marked by the *corona civica* on the door. Across the top of this face runs an Ionic colonnade, which wraps around the corner of the base to connect with the Vesta panel. The procession of the Vestals and the temple in the background are thus located on the Palatine and in close conjunction with Augustus' house.

M. Guarducci has argued that both the bull and ram statues and the female figures flanking Vesta on the Sorrento base refer to time periods. The astrological signs of Aries (March 21–April 20) and Taurus (April 21–May 20) are contiguous, and the Palatine dedication to Vesta took place under the latter on April 28. Guarducci argues that the construction of the temple must have taken place almost entirely under Aries, if it was vowed upon Augustus' election as *pontifex maximus* on March 6. The statues, then, would commemorate the swift completion of the temple under these two signs. Moreover, Guarducci argues, the two female figures that flank Vesta also place this dedication temporally, but in calendrical time rather than in astrological time. The figure on the right, under the statue of the ram, is a veiled matron, holding an ear of wheat, and identifiable as Ceres, whose festival ran from April 12 to19, thus under the sign of Aries. The figure on the left, under Taurus, is less identifiable, as the hand which likely held an attribute is missing; Guarducci argues from analogy, however, that she must be Flora, whose festival (April 28–May 3) flanked Vesta's new dedication day on the other side, and fell solidly under the sign of Taurus.[112] The swift completion of the temple, in Guarducci's view, was designed precisely

[112] Guarducci goes so far as to read calendrical significance in the overlap between the figures of Flora and Vesta in the relief, so that they share space in the relief, just as they do in the calendar ("Enea e Vesta," 106).

to place the dedication between these two popular festivals, and between two goddesses with whose agricultural associations Vesta, as goddess of the hearth, of bakers, and of the family's storehouses, had something in common.[113]

Ovid's dramatic insertion of Vesta into Flora's calendrical space, and the analogies he sets up between her physical and temporal relocation share a great deal with the Sorrento base's simultaneous articulation of Vesta's new position on the Palatine between Augustus and Apollo, and her new calendrical position between Ceres and Flora. The one 'location' emphasizes the goddess' new Augustan associations; the other takes advantage of her traditional associations with the agricultural cycle we discussed in the previous chapter. Though the *Fasti*'s passage on Vesta is centered almost entirely on the new Augustan associations, her traditional associations with other goddesses in Book 4 have prepared this calendrical space for her. Vesta's connection with this agricultural cycle is clearest in Ovid's treatment of the Parilia, in which participants go to the temple of Vesta to collect the *suffimen*, a set purificatory substances to be used in Pales' rites (4.731–34): one of the ingredients, as we saw in the previous chapter, is the ashes of the calf sacrificed to Tellus at the Fordicidia, and in his account of that day too, Ovid uses the Vestals and the ashes as a connecting device between the two rites (4.639–40). Later in the *Fasti* also, Vesta is identified with Tellus, as an embodiment of the earth (6.267, 460).[114] As we saw in the previous chapter, a large number of April's goddesses are identified with aspects of the earth, and Vesta fits into this pattern quite smoothly. The involvement of the Vestals in April's set of connected rituals indicates that Vesta's new calendrical location on April 28 is not so intrusive as one might think.[115]

Vesta's Augustan connections also entitle her to a place in a month which we saw in Chapter 3 to be full of transferred goddesses and Trojan goddesses. In the previous section, we saw Vesta's relationship to Augustus figured as dependent on her guardianship of Trojan

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[113] Cf. Spaeth, *Ceres*, 115–16, comparing the *castitas* associated with Vesta and Ceres.

[114] Cf. Aug. *C.D.* 4.10 (with reference to Varro), and Le Bonniec, *Cérès*, 48–49.

[115] Cf. Bayet, "Cerealia," 12 and n.1; Severy, *Augustus and the Family*, 101 on the Vesta cult's association with the city's foundation through calendrical proximity to the Parilia.

relics—the Palladium, the Penates, Vesta's flame, and even Vesta herself are called 'Ilian,' and Augustus, as a descendant of Aeneas, is yet another piece of Troy for her to guard, another *pignus imperii*. Augustus, in turn, takes care of her, just as his progenitor saved her *sacra* from the burning Troy (1.527–32; 3.417–28; 6.365, 455–56). We saw in Book 4 the transferal of both Venus Erycina (873–76) and Magna Mater (247–72) to Rome as Trojan goddesses concerned to be in the city of their Roman descendants. Vesta's transferal of her Ilian flame and her *pignora imperii* from the Forum to the Palatine replays this pattern once again, but with a more narrow designation of who qualifies as heir of the Trojan *imperium*.

Finally, as we observed in Chapter 3, Book 5's passage on the Floralia is reconnected to Book 4 and to April by a variety of motifs. One of these is its participation in poetic issues raised in the Venus proem, as Ovid displays Flora's affinity with the 'light' material of his earlier elegy, and invokes her for poetic grace in a very Callimachean *sphragis*. In Book 4 Ovid sends Flora and her *ioci mos liberioris* (946) off to the kalends of May with the explanation that he has more serious work to attend to on April 28: *nunc me grandius urget opus* [Now a greater work presses upon me] (948). Newlands has observed that this line evokes the close of *Amores* 3.1,[116] Ovid's staging of the poet's choice between elegy and tragedy, personified as women; the poet chooses Elegy (and thus writes his last book of *Amores*), but promises to return to Tragedy shortly:

'exiguum vati concede, Tragoedia, tempus!
tu labor aeternus; quod petit illa, breve est.'
Mota dedit veniam—teneri properentur Amores,
dum vacat; a tergo grandius urguet opus!

['Grant a little time to the poet, Tragedy! You are an endless job; what she asks for is brief.' Moved, she gave her permission—let tender Loves hurry while there is time; a greater work presses from behind.']

(*Am.* 3.1.67–70)

The evocation of *Amores* 3.1 certainly situates both Vesta and Flora in a literary-critical context. We might remember that the beginning of *Fasti* 4 had alluded to *Amores* 3.15, in which the poet bade Venus

[116] Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 141; cf. also Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 135–36.

and erotic elegy farewell in favor of an *area maior*, so that we have a nice chiastic pattern of cross-references between the beginnings and ends of these two books. The *Fasti*'s program, of which Venus is almost an embodiment, has tried to find a middle ground between his erotic elegy and nationalistic or martial subjects, and the abrupt shift of subject on April 28 is emblematic of the poet's play with the strains of a heavy topic on the light genre of elegy.[117]

In addition, however, this allusion restages and reverses Ovid's earlier choice between the elegiac woman and the matronly embodiment of tragedy in calendrical terms. Ovid's request to Tragedy to cede *exiguum . . . tempus* to the poet to write his elegy is precisely what Ovid asks of the elegiac Flora now: Vesta only needs one day of Flora's six-day festival. *Quod petit illa, breve est.* Indeed, Ovid writes only a brief six lines here on Vesta, his *grandius opus*, and dedicates nearly 200 to Flora in Book 5. We begin to see that Ovid is playing with the elements of the analogy: the matronly Vesta, who is, like Tragedy, a *grandius opus*, is now also associated with Callimachean smallness and brevity. It is the elegiac Flora who now occupies more time and more lines and must wait until there is enough space in the poem to do her justice; her deferral to May is as much due to the already excessive length of Book 4 as to the presence of Vesta.

Both the elegiac and the nationalistic strains are part of the *Fasti*'s program, and both the old and the new layers are part of the calendar that is his *materia*. Just as we saw that Ovid's treatment of the Floralia answers to the poetic associations of Venus in the proem, and in a sense 'closes' Book 4 despite its position in Book 5, the new layer commemorating Vesta's move to the Palatine also has a closural function for the book, answering to Venus' Augustan associations. A month that opened with a Venus who was mother of both the *Amores* and the Julians requires a close that is both amatory and Augustan. April 28, with its calendrical conjoining of Flora and Vesta offers Ovid just that closing.

These readings of Ovid's treatment of Julio-Claudian holidays have tended to focus on poetic and calendrical connections which expand and reinterpret the explicit meaning of a given holiday, rather than simply undercutting it. In part, this is a corrective strategy, an answer to a strong tendency in literary readings of the *Fasti* to expect an

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[117] Cf. Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 143.

ironic or subversive approach to Augustan and authoritarian themes from the Ovid we think we know. I have tried to suggest, however, that the Julio-Claudian use of the calendar as an ideological tool meant necessarily ceding some degree of 'authority' to the reader of the calendar in order to allow the new holidays to truly participate in the calendrical form. In the first two sections of this chapter, I traced some connections among Julio-Claudian festivals and between those festivals and older calendrical layers which seemed to be orchestrated to serve the changing needs of Augustan ideology. Though a guiding imperial hand is often visible in the manipulations of the calendrical structure that encourage these connections, it is important to remember that these connections, the meanings built by the interaction between celebrations, are always only suggested and never prescribed. The Julio-Claudian holidays do not, indeed cannot, freeze meaning in the calendar; they depend on the openness of the calendar's structure and its encouragement of interpretation and exegesis to incorporate them and integrate them into the Roman experience of the year.

Ovid's readings of the Julio-Claudian holidays, the connections he draws between holidays, and his staging of historical re-readings and reinterpretations of the meanings of these connections, must be read with an eye to the way the new holidays interact with the calendrical structure and the older layers of the calendar. These readings have much in common with the sorts of connections I observed in the previous chapter, when my reading focused primarily on the older layers of Book 4. The calendar challenges readers to make connections between days, asks them to make sense of the relationship between coinciding events, invites them to read meaning into its structure. In many senses, then, Ovid has found a public discourse in which Augustan authority can easily be assimilated to poetic authority, and is subject to the same limits in terms of its control over its reception. The poet reads the calendar as if it were a poem, and his own poem is mimetic of that reading, that process of making connections and building meaning. If his readings often coincide with what seem to be Augustus' intentions, we should not be surprised; Ovid was a good reader and Augustus knew how to build a text.

CHAPTER FIVE

LOOKING FORWARD TO JULY

It would be hard to miss the signs that ask us to read the proems of Books 5 and 6 of the *Fasti* together. The dramatic situations of the two are distinctly parallel: the poet encounters three female divinities, each of whom gives an etymology for the month's name. For the month of May, three Muses make the arguments: first, Polyhymnia traces the name to *Maiestas*; next Urania claims the month honors the city's elders (*maiores*); finally, Calliopea narrates the birth of Mercury and the establishment of his cult at Rome by Evander, claiming in the end that the month honors his mother, Maia. In Book 6, the goddesses are more directly involved in the question: Juno claims the month for her own; Juventas, the embodiment of youth, stakes a competing claim on her own behalf and that of the Roman *iuniores*; finally, Concordia steps forth and gives the month an etymology from *iungere*, 'to join'. There are clear correspondences among the six etymologies: the central pair traces the names to goddesses (Maia and Juno); another pair interprets the months as honoring age-based groups of the Roman male elite, *maiores* and *iuniores*; the first and last etymologies link the months to political abstractions (*Maiestas* and *Concordia*). Express cross-references between the two sets of etymologies underline these pairings and tell us each set of goddesses is aware of the controversy going on 'next-door': Urania backs up her etymology of *Maius* from *maiores* by pointing to the etymology of *Iunius* from *iuniores* (5.77–78) and Juventas happily reverses the argument in 6.83–88. Juno complains about being cheated of a month when Maia, a rival for Jupiter's erotic attentions, has laid claim to one (6.35–36). In each proem, the poet balks at the prospect of choosing among the three proffered etymologies and thus offending any of his interlocutors (5.107–10, 6.97–100). Just to make sure the reader does not miss all this, the first words of Book 6 make the pairing of the two months all but explicit: *Hic quoque mensis habet dubias in nomine causas* [This month too has doubtful causes for its name] (6.1).

Already these preliminary observations on the two proems make a strong argument for their thematization of dissent and multiplicity. The scholarly interpretation of this dissent has been quite split: on the one hand, a number of critics have read the poet's uncertainty and unwillingness to choose between the etymologies offered him in an essentially negative light: it is evidence of Ovid's lack of discrimination or real commitment to the questions at hand;[1] or perhaps it is a more carefully controlled representation of the failure of poetic authority or of generic possibilities.[2] In the case of Book 5, however, a number of recent studies have found a more compatible relationship among the etymologies offered by the Muses than one might expect.[3] Urania's etymology of May from *maiores*, 'the elders,' is lexically marked as consistent with Polyhymnia's preceding theogonic narrative of Maiestas' birth and the concomitant respect for 'greaterness' that orders the divine and human worlds (5.11–52). Urania begins her etymology with the word *magna* which Polyhymnia has marked as the root of *maiestas* (5.57). Polyhymnia had named Honor and Reverentia as the goddess Maiestas' parents (5.23–25) and Urania links both to age in her etymology (5.57, 66). The last explanation of the *mensis Maius* makes the month a sign of Mercury's *pietas* toward his mother (5.105), an honor consistent with those paid to parents and grandparents in both of the preceding explanations (5.49, 75–76). J. Loehr's recent study of multiple explanations in Ovid argues that the proem to Book 5 offers the reader a model for understanding etiological multiple explanations as a means of treating genuinely complex truths by establishing a harmony among the explanations. She emphasizes the strength of the Muses as guarantors of poetic truth and sees Ovid's staging of a difference of opinion among them as a challenge to the reader to integrate the phenomenon of multiplicity with the idea of truth. Loehr traces echoes of the three etymologies for May in the book as a whole, demonstrating the cooperation of all three in making meaning for the month. B. Weiden Boyd has likewise demonstrated a certain unity to the book

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[1] E.g., Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled*, 266; Miller, "Divine Interlocutors," 188–89; Porte, *Etiologie religieuse*, 65.

[2] Harries, "Causation," 171–73; Barchiesi, "Discordant Muses;" Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 84–85.

[3] Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 82–83; Loehr, *Mehrfacherklärungen*, 269–70; Porte, *Etiologie religieuse*, 74.

loosely focused on "three major interconnected narrative patterns" organized by the proem: "the power of divine authorization", "the replication of marvelous birth stories", and "the power of *pietas*."[4]

Scholars have been less successful in identifying unifying elements in Book 6,[5] and indeed the proem stages the book as even more difficult than its partner in the pair. The Muses' dissension in Book 5 is decidedly civil and well-ordered: twice Ovid notes the goddesses' quiet attention to rival claims (5.10, 55–56); they neatly divide into three balanced groups in support of the three etymologies (5.53–54, 108). Their behavior in rivalry is in fact scarcely competitive. In June, by contrast, Ovid invokes from the start the model of the Judgement of Paris in identifying the rival goddesses (6.15–17). Juno, the one goddess who was also a contestant in the Judgement of Paris, brings up a second time the contest she lost so long ago (6.44). Loehr traces the rhetorical structure and logic (or lack thereof) of Juno's argument noting its essentially competitive nature: it seems less designed to argue for her right to June than to demonstrate passionately her supremacy and power over the other competitors and over the Romans themselves.[6] Her speech induces Juventas, the next speaker, to couch her own claim legally: '*nunc quoque non luctor de nomine temporis huius:/blandior, et partes paene rogantis ago,/remque mei iuris malim tenuisse precando:/et faveas causae forsitan ipse meae*' ['Even now, I don't fight over the name of this month: I coax, and I almost play the role of a petitioner and I would prefer to obtain the property due me by entreaty; and perhaps you yourself may side with my case'] (6.69–72). Despite the arguably conciliatory speech from Juventas that follows,[7] the relation between the first two candidates before the entrance of the third is figured as decidedly conflicted and competitive: a *certamen* on the verge of out-and-out *lis* and *ira* (6.89–90).

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[4] Loehr, *Mehrfacherklärungen*, 265; Boyd, "*Celabitur auctor*," 95–96. In sharp contrast to both is N. Holzberg's recent evaluation: "Thematic and structural comparison of Books 5 and 6 with the other books . . . shows that the last two books of the *Fasti*, unlike Books 1–4, do not have a general theme derived from the name of their month and contain no narratives of any length"; the Muses' answer "blocks the development of an organizing theme" (*Ovid: The Poet and his Work*, 168–69). Cf. also Rutledge, "Style and Composition," 127, where Book 5 is the "most amusingly piebald" of the six.

[5] A notable exception: G. Lieberg, "Iuno bei Ovid. Ein Beitrag zu Fasten VI 1–100," *Latomus* 28 (1969): 923–47.

[6] Loehr, *Mehrfacherklärungen*, 309–22.

[7] Ibid., 322–30; Lieberg, "Iuno bei Ovid," 942–44.

The third goddess of Book 6, however, offers quite another model of negotiating multiplicity: Concordia narrates the union of the Sabines and Romans in the reign of Romulus and concludes: '*his nomen iunctis Iunius . . . habet*' ['From their union, June has its name'] (6.96). This decidedly dubious etymology of *Iunius* from the verb *iungere* has been received variously by the critics,[8] but with a strong tendency in recent years to emphasize its contentiousness. Acknowledging the expectation that Concordia will offer concord and settle the dispute, Newlands, for example, argues that instead "Concordia simply adds to the dissension by providing yet another etymology."[9] Others have seen the etymology as conciliatory because of its clear lack of validity: its very blandness or its less partisan nature defuses the conflict.[10] One way or another, however, Concordia's speech works: the conflict between Juno and Juventas does not escalate and Ovid sends the three goddesses away from him on equal terms (*ite pares a me* [6.99]). Ovid has issued the reader the same challenge he did in the proem to Book 5: how does this proem and its meditation on the month's name organize meaning for the book and the month?[11]

The pairing of May and June is surely important to answering this question. The most explicit articulation of the relation between the two is offered by Urania's etymology of May from *maiores* and Juventas' etymology of June from *iuniores*, a set we have looked at before. Both goddesses figure younger men as fit for military activity and elder men as fit for political activity (5.59–66, 6.83–86) and treat the two groups' functions as essentially socially complementary. The relationship is underlined by each of the goddesses' 'citation' of the other's etymology in support of her own: '*nec leve propositi pignus*

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[8] See Loehr, *Mehrfacherklärungen*, 330–32 for a summary of the critical stances on Concordia here.

[9] Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 78; cf. also Miller, "Ovid's Divine Interlocutors," 191; Santini, "Toni e strutture," 53.

[10] Fantham, "Ovid, Germanicus," 264; Rutledge, "Style and Composition," 138.

[11] Lieberg argues that the poet's refusal to choose hints at a deeper unity amongst the explanations situated in a basic Augustanism and in the essential link between Augustus and peace ("Iuno bei Ovid," 947). Loehr similarly articulates the organizing theme of Book 6 as "'peaceful' coexistence of victorious pro-Roman and conquered anti-Roman powers, a conception which Concordia Augusta expressed both in foreign and domestic terms" (*Mehrfacherklärungen*, 341 [my translation]). She declines, however, to make a detailed interpretation of the theme in the book as a whole, which she understands as incomplete or insufficiently revised, focusing instead on a few key passages (*Mehrfacherklärungen*, 344).

successor honoris/Iunius, a iuvenum nomine dictus, habet' ['And the next month in line, June, holds no light guarantee of the intended honor'] (5.77–78); *'Iunius est iuvenum; qui fuit ante, senum'* ['June belongs to the young; what came before it belongs to the old'] (6.88). Both etymologies make meaning based not just on the pairing of May and June, but also on calendrical order: it is important that June (and the *iuniores*) succeed May (and the *maiores*). If these two months are presented as meaningful largely in relation to one another, the relation between successive generations is a line of inquiry worth pursuing in reading Books 5 and 6.

The calendrical intertext also suggests, however, another set of considerations. I argued in Chapter 1 that the calendrical 'success' of the new month names *Iulius* and *Augustus*, measured in their acceptance and longevity, had much to do with their pairing and the message of both continuity and dynasticism implied by their relation to the preceding month-pair of *Maius-Iunius*. The series of month names, *Maius-Iunius-Iulius-Augustus* suggests both the continuity of imperial succession with traditional generational succession (Augustus succeeds Julius just as *iuniores* have always succeeded *maiores*) and the replacement of the old form of generational succession with the new dynastic pattern (*Iulius-Augustus* succeeds *Maius-Iunius*).

However, in a poem painfully aware of etymologies, this neat patterning does not quite work. In the new Augustan instantiation of the generational pattern, the month *Augustus* is analogous to *Iunius*: its human referent holds the place of the younger, the second in line to his father and *maior*, Julius. Nonetheless, the etymology of the name Augustus makes it impossible to assign that name to second place. On the anniversary of Octavian's acceptance of his *cognomen*, the *Fasti* asserts the superiority of the name *Augustus* to all other *cognomina*, and particularly to those that share a root with the *mensis Maius*:

Magne, tuum nomen rerum est mensura tuarum:
sed qui te vicit nomine maior erat.
nec gradus est supra Fabios cognominis ullus:
illa domus meritis Maxima dicta suis.
sed tamen humanis celebrantur honoribus omnes,
hic socium summo cum Iove nomen habet.
sancta vocant augusta patres, augusta vocantur
templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu:
huius et augurium dependet origine verbi
et quodcumque sua Iuppiter auget ope.

> [{Pompey} the Great, your name is the measure of your deeds: but the man who conquered you was greater in name. Nor is there any rank of name beyond the Fabii: that house was called 'The Greatest' because of its services. But nevertheless all those men are celebrated with human honors; this one has a name in common with Jupiter on high. Our fathers call sacred things 'august'; temples are called 'august,' properly dedicated by the hands of priests; 'augury' too is traced back to this word and whatever Jupiter 'augments' with his help.]
> (1.603–12)

A man bearing the name 'Augustus' is removed from the human scale of things (605–8) and aligned with the divine.[12] Augustus' deeds and name embody the quality itself of growth and improvement, rather than any discrete degree of that quality. As Barchiesi has pointed out, the name Augustus is figured here as both a continuation of and a break with Republican traditions of nomenclature.[13]

In the same way, the assigning of the *princeps' cognomen* to the eighth month both extends the old pattern of generational succession inscribed in the names of the *menses Maius* and *Iunius* and trumps that pattern. In the sequence of months *Maius-Iunius-Iulius-Augustus*, the *mensis Augustus* is set in a chiastic relation with *Maius* by their semantic connection; this relation is reinforced by the nearly homophonic pairing of the month names *Iunius* and *Iulius*. Augustus is thus marked as analogous to a *maior*, and the implied homology of *Iunius* and *Iulius* makes for an odd situation where Julius is almost inscribed as 'younger' or 'lesser' than his son.[14] In addition, the similarity in morphology and rhythm of the three preceding months (*Maius, Iunius, Iulius*) lays a differentiating emphasis on the month of *Augustus*—it breaks and thereby concludes both a rhythmic sequence and the social pattern of generational succession inscribed in the months. The entry of the *mensis Augustus* into the calendar thus reorients and revises the whole set of months it concludes, refiguring the preceding months as precursors to itself.

Ovid's complete omission of one tradition of interpretation for the month of June further supports the suggestion that the month of

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[12] Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 7.2; Flor. 4.12.66; Dio 53.16.6–8.

[13] Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 94–95; cf. Syme, "Imperator Caesar."

[14] Ovid dedicates considerable attention to a similar twist at the end of the *Metamorphoses*, where *divus Iulius* himself confesses his inferiority to Augustus (*Met.* 15.850–51).

August helps define a large-scale meaning for this calendrical sequence of months. Macrobius tells us that some believed that June was named for L. Junius Brutus, the tyrannicide, liberator, and first consul of Rome; Brutus is supposed to have established the Carnalia on the kalends of the month (Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.31). Ovid shows no knowledge of this tradition, treating it neither among the etymologies for June, nor in his account of the origins of the Carnalia. While we cannot know for certain how old the etymology is, Weinstock has made a convincing argument that it played a role in Caesar's plan to have *Quintilis* renamed for himself.[15] The dictator was keen to position himself as a new 'liberator' who had freed a Rome "oppressed by a faction of a few" (Caes. *Civ.* 1.22.5) and his appropriation of the month following *Iunius* may have been designed to stake this claim. Weinstock points to a close analog in the erection of Caesar's statue next to those of the kings on the Capitoline: it was placed next to a statue of L. Junius Brutus, and showed Caesar brandishing a drawn sword in the pose of a tyrannicide.[16]

If the model of Brutus was fundamental in the renaming of *Quintilis* for Caesar, so that the *mensis Iulius* was meant to mark Caesar as a benevolent liberator, that meaning was either wasted on or consciously rejected by some of Caesar's contemporaries who saw in the Capitoline statue pretensions to kingship[17] and in the month-name pretensions to divinity.[18] Suetonius reports a graffito on Caesar's statue reading, *'Brutus, quia reges eiecit, consul primus factus est: hic quia consules eiecit, rex postremo factus est'* ['Because he threw the kings out, Brutus was made the first consul; because he threw the consuls out, this man was finally made king'] (*Jul.* 80.3). The ides of March of 44 would have put the nail in the coffin of Caesar's intended calendrical reading, and probably encouraged the sort exemplified by the graffito's reading of the Capitoline statues. The familial connection between M. Junius Brutus and L. Junius Brutus, the hero of the Republic's foundation, was made much of both before and after Marcus took part in the assassination of Caesar. During Caesar's dictatorship, graffiti urging M. Brutus to action appeared on a statue

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[15] Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 139–62, esp. 152–58.
[16] Ibid., 145–48; on the position of the statue: Dio 43.45.3–4.
[17] Cic. *Deiot.* 33.
[18] Suet. *Jul.* 72.1.

and a tribunal associated with L. Brutus: "Would that you were alive!" (Suet. *Jul.* 80.3); "Brutus, are you sleeping?" and "You are not truly Brutus" (Plut. *Brut.* 9.7). After Caesar's death, Brutus minted coins with his head on one side and his illustrious ancestor's on the other.[19] After 44 B.C.E., then, the juxtaposition of the *menses Iunius* and *Iulius* would have been loaded with a new meaning, recalling tyrannicide (but not as Caesar had intended) and civil war. The renaming of the *mensis Sextilis* in 8 B.C.E. in a sense fixes this problem by voiding the calendrical connection between the names *Iunius* and *Iulius*. Firmly paired with August, July has its meaning shaped primarily by that pairing rather than by the unintended consequences of its pairing with June. June can then happily return to its pairing with May and its more commonly reported etymologies from Juno or *iuniores*.

Whether Ovid's ignorance of the Brutus tradition is real or feigned,[20] it suggests that a large-scale reshaping of the calendar was effected by the change of *Sextilis* to *Augustus*. Books 5 and 6 of the *Fasti* are thus also likely to have been shaped by the months on the horizon, their meanings and preoccupations defined or oriented in part by the prospect of July and August. The emphasis the proems to May and June lay on questions of generational continuity, competition and complementarity has already begun to suggest that these books are (among other things) exploring the meanings of these two months as a calendrical series. This series extends, however, beyond May and June to the unwritten books on July and August, and its meanings are inextricably tied up with the question of Augustus' relation to Caesar and his memory.

For most of the twentieth century scholarly consensus, led forcefully by Syme, held that Augustus systematically disassociated himself from the memory of Caesar's earthly deeds, not least through the promotion of the cult of *divus Iulius*. E. S. Ramage even argued in recent years that Octavian began the process of separating himself from his adoptive father as early as 43 B.C.E.[21] In 1988, however,

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[19] Evans, *Art of Persuasion*, 145–48.

[20] Cf. M. Beard, J. North and S. Price, *Religions of Rome* vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 208.

[21] E. S. Ramage, "Augustus' Treatment of Julius Caesar," *Historia* 34 (1985): 223–45, with a bibliographical review of the consensus on 223, n. 2; see also P. White, "Julius Caesar in Augustan Rome," *Phoenix* 42 (1988): 334–56, 334–36 and nn.

P. White called for and began a reevaluation of the evidence, concluding that "Augustus was evidently pleased to have [his and Caesar's] affiliation advertised," and suggesting that the promotion of the cult of *divus Iulius* served, among other things, as a means for Augustus to design by example "a program of divine honors for himself."[22] Herbert-Brown takes up White's challenge but finds his position unsustainable on the evidence of the *Fasti*.[23] She summarizes the poem's references to Caesar as representing him "as military commander, for which he is no role model for Augustus; as 'sacerdos Vestae' and god, for which he is; as reformer of the calendar, cast in a humorous way to deprive Augustus' predecessor of too much reverence and credit for what was a truly outstanding achievement. Ovid ignores anniversaries associating him with Cleopatra and civil war. His purpose seems to have been to erase memory of Julius' most embarrassing (to his heir) and inglorious deeds" (128). In its broad strokes, Herbert-Brown's evaluation is unexceptionable, and adds to the discussion the valuable observation that the *Fasti* actually brings up Caesar quite a lot, more than any other Augustan poem. Herbert-Brown hypothesizes that Caesar-as-man may have been enjoying a resurgence in popular favor at the time of the *Fasti*'s composition (a politically difficult time for Augustus, as we saw in Chapter 1); this shift in popularity made the panegyrical technique of "denigrat[ing] a past ruler to enhance the present one" (129) particularly appropriate. While the suggestion is intriguing, Herbert-Brown's evidence for Caesar's popularity is somewhat thin,[24] and even her own summary quoted above makes it clear that calling Ovid's treatment of Caesar 'denigration' is an overstatement.

In a 2001 study, though without specific reference to Ovid, D. Kienast offers an interpretation of the evidence for Augustus' relation to Caesar that is worth considering in relation to the *Fasti*. In

1–3; and D. Kienast, "Augustus und Caesar," *Chiron* 31 (2001): 1–26, 1–2 and nn. 1–6. Syme nowhere dedicated an article to the exposition of this theory, but he adduces it frequently; the fullest treatments are *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), 317–18 and *Tacitus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), 1.432–34.

22 White, "Julius Caesar," 354–56.

23 Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 109–29.

24 The continued calendrical celebration of Caesarian military victories and Augustus' invocation of Caesar's papers as the source for a new tax in 6 C.E. (Dio 55.25.10); see Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 107 and 129.

a detailed review of the evidence of Augustan buildings, the calendar, statuary, literature and epigraphy Kienast offers, if not a conclusive argument against the long-held consensus, at least very serious challenges to it.[25] The argument is cumulative, and thus cannot be summarized here, but a few details will illustrate its thrust. Kienast points to the continued display of Caesar's gilded *sella curulis* and crown, the insignia of his status as *triumphator* and magistrate, at public games including those for Augustus' birthday in 13 C.E.; other members of the imperial family were also voted analogous honors on their deaths.[26] This evidence of official association between markers of Caesar's earthly career and the still living or recently deceased members of the Julio-Claudian family calls into question a systematic suppression of the memory of Caesar the dictator. Kienast also illustrates the impossibility of separating the cult of *divus Iulius* from either the memory of the man or the living members of his family: the divinization of Caesar is consistently linked with his deeds on earth and particularly with his military *virtus*.[27] The use of the temple of *divus Iulius* in the funerals of Octavia and Augustus, and the continued use of the nomenclature *divi f.* and *divi n.* for members of the imperial family in inscriptions show a distinct pattern of dynastic evocation of the figure of Caesar, so that Caesar's role as an earthly ruler is as important as his divinity in these contexts.

This last is of particular relevance to the calendar and to Ovid. We have from the start been thinking about the calendar's use as a dynastic tool in the Augustan period, and we gave a good deal of attention in the preceding chapter to Ovid's engagement with the emerging concept of the *domus Augusta*. The next sections explore Books 5 and 6 as operating with the prospect of the *menses Iulius* and *Augustus* on the horizon and constituting (among much else, of course) a teasing out of the implications and ambiguities of Augustus' relation with Caesar the man and the *divus Iulius*. Ovid's treatment of the festivals of *Maius* and *Iunius* emerges as a large-scale calendrical reading of the four months as thematically linked in their

[25] Kienast, "Augustus und Caesar."

[26] Ibid., 10–11.

[27] This is one of the most powerful points made by Weinstock in his *Divus Julius*. Cf. also I. Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 54–72.

sequence. A conversation about generational succession, the relation of the imperial present to the Republican past, and the construction of memory, all with Caesar in the background, is set up by the proems of Books 5 and 6, continues into the body of both books, and projects into the unwritten seventh and eighth books.

Whose majesty? (5.11–52)

Ovid couches his first explanation for the *mensis Maius* (which seems to be his own) as a theogonic and, in a certain sense, cosmogonic narrative placed in the mouth of the Muse Polyhymnia. As N. Mackie has argued, the story of the 'goddess' Maiestas' birth draws attention not just to her role in the present cosmological and political order, but also to the fact that she is *new*, that she has not always been present, or at least not as she is now.[28] Mackie lays out succinctly the Republican concept of *maiestas* as both the relational 'greaterness' of one person or group to another and an inherent quality of superiority associated with "belonging to a particular group or category—especially a stable social category . . . *maiestas* does not result from personal abilities or merits: one has it because one is a king, or a god (or a parent)."[29] Republican *maiestas* is most often, and most formally, met as the *maiestas populi Romani*, the political authority and superior status of the Roman people both in relation to other states and in relation to the Roman senate. Cicero concisely defines the legal charge of 'diminishing *maiestas*' as "detracting in any way from the dignity, importance or power of the people or of those to whom the people has given power" (*Inv.* 2.53). In the Augustan period the concept of *maiestas* undergoes developments which Mackie argues are central to an understanding of Ovid's theogony. The early empire's extension of the *crimen maiestatis* to what we would understand as *lèse-majesté* is well known; it came to be applied not just to political intrigue against the emperor, as embodiment of the state, but also to more personal insult or injury to the

[28] The personification of Maiestas never actually received worship at Rome.
[29] Mackie, "Birth of Maiestas," 89–90; see also R. A. Bauman, *The Crimen Maiestatis in the Roman Republic and the Augustan Principate* (Johannesburg: Witwaterstrand University Press, 1967), 1–15.

emperor through words or action.[30] Mackie connects this usage to a broader emphasis on the *maiestas* of the senate and the personal *maiestas* of individuals within it. *Maiestas* becomes, not just informally, but legally, a social and moral concept as well as a political one, a means of ideologically bolstering the social structure.

In the end, Mackie reads Ovid's account of the birth of Maiestas as "an allegory on a social and political value *maiestas*," a rather unexceptionable ending to a very enlightening discussion. Along the way, however, Mackie raises another allegorical possibility which she elects to resist, a "historical allegory along the lines of 'Saturn is Julius Caesar, the Giants are the Civil Wars, Augustus is Jupiter and in the end assures to himself the (monarchical) *maiestas* which Caesar's dictatorship had hinted at'."[31] Ovid's Maiestas is born and brings order to the world of the gods; upon the fall of Saturn, that order is challenged by the attack of the Giants upon Olympus (34–42); Jupiter defends Maiestas as well as his own position, and she henceforth takes up a permanent position by his side, and extends her influence into the mortal world (43–52). This pattern (disorder, punctuated by an impermanent order, new disorder precipitated by the fall of the ruler, and finally a permanent and far-reaching new order under the old ruler's heir) does almost beg for association with the history of the civil wars and the establishment of the Augustan principate. In the Augustan poets Jupiter's defeat of the gigantomachic rebellion against his order frequently alludes to the political order established (or re-established) by the principate: Horace's narrative of the heavenly rebellion follows directly from a reference to Augustus and seems to counsel wise submission to his benign authority (*Carm.* 3.4); Vergil uses gigantomachic imagery in the battle of Actium on Aeneas' shield (Verg. *Aen.* 8.698–705).[32] While Mackie acknowledges the basic plausibility of the historical allegory she suggests, based

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[30] Tacitus sets the beginnings of this practice in Augustus' reign: *Ann.* 1.72.3–4, 3.24.2–3. Bauman argues that under Augustus offences to the *princeps*' personal *maiestas* (e.g., the adultery of the elder Julia, which Tacitus calls *laesarum religionum ac violatae maiestatis* [*Ann.* 3.24.3]) were prosecuted separately from political *crimina maiestatis* (*Crimen Maiestatis*, 210–45). Augustus' successors gradually draw the two concepts of *maiestas* closer together: see R. A. Bauman, *Impietas in principem: A study of treason against the Roman emperor with special reference to the first century A.D.* (Munich: Beck, 1974), 2–10.

[31] Mackie, "Birth of Maiestas," 93–4.

[32] Cf. Hardie, *Cosmos and Imperium*, esp. 87–90.

especially on Ovid's frequent practice of associating Augustus with Jupiter,[33] she rejects it as less rewarding than the more general allegory she settles upon. If, however, Ovid is considering from the start of Book 5 the relationship between *Iulius* and *Augustus* (both months and men) as helping to shape the meaning of *Maius* (and *Iunius* as well), this allegorical reading, or something quite like it, is worth giving further consideration. The 'history' of Maiestas, the narrative relation of her present to her past, should not be overlooked.

The picture of Maiestas' first period in the age of Saturn and her second one under Jupiter in fact have significant differences. Immediately after her birth, the new goddess takes up a position of prominence among the gods:

> *'nec mora, consedit medio sublimis Olympo*
> *aurea, purpureo conspicienda sinu;*
> *consedere simul Pudor et Metus. omne videres*
> *numen ad hanc voltus composuisse suos.*
> *protinus intravit mentes suspectus honorum:*
> *fit pretium dignis, nec sibi quisque placet.*
> *hic status in caelo multos permansit in annos,*
> *dum senior fatis excidit arce deus.'*

> ['Right away, she sat down in the middle of Olympus, raised on high, golden, her purple breast drawing every eye. Shame and Fear sat with her. You would have seen every god adjust his expression to match her. Immediately respect for honors entered their minds: rewards went to the worthy, nor was each divinity self-satisfied. This situation continued in heaven for many years, until the elder god fell by fate from the citadel.']
>
> (5.27–34)

Maiestas' appearance in these lines, her physical relation to the other gods, and their reaction to her, mark her as baldly monarchical. Her purple and gold are, of course, widely associated with royalty in antiquity and ancient authors often trace purple and gold insignia to the early Roman or Etruscan kings, especially in connection with the costume of the triumphing general.[34] This is not to say Maiestas

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[33] Scott, "Emperor Worship," 52–58.

[34] Purple robes connected with Romulus: D. H. 2.34.2, Plin. *Nat.* 9.63, Plut. *Rom.* 26; purple togas and gold crowns sent by Romans to foreign kings: Liv. 27.4.8, 30.15.11, 31.11.12, App. *Pun.* 32; on Etruscan origin of regal/triumphal insignia: D. H. 3.61–62. See also M. Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity*

is dressed as a king (or as a triumphator). She is not *wearing* a gold crown; she *is* golden. She is purple in her *sinus*—possibly the folds of her clothing, but just as easily her breast or lap itself. Maiestas is the embodiment of the regal power symbolized by the king's clothing. Her physical placement in the center (*medio . . . Olympo*) and above (*sublimis*) the other gods suggests strongly her separation from them and her isolation in power. This is most readily seen in contrast to her position later, in the reign of Jupiter, where she takes up a seat *beside* the god: '*assidet inde Iovi*' ['from then on she sits at the side of Jove'] (5.45). We will consider further the significance of this new situation shortly, but the adverb *inde* clearly marks it as a change and draws attention to Maiestas' physical separation from the other gods in the earlier lines. We might note that Saturn is remarkably invisible in Maiestas' first 'reign' until he suddenly falls in line 34.

If we are considering a historical allegory in which the first period of Maiestas' history corresponds in some sense to the dictatorship of Caesar, her physical appearance and positioning take on even richer implications. In 45 B.C.E., after the victory at Munda over the remnants of the Pompeians, a series of senatorial decrees gradually granted Caesar a set of honors based on traditional triumphal regalia. At first he was awarded the privilege of wearing a laurel wreath on all occasions and triumphal dress at the games in the Circus; another decree later that year allowed him triumphal dress as well as a golden crown at games and sacrifices, and the laurel wreath everywhere. By 44, however, Weinstock observes that references to the dictator's ceremonial dress as 'triumphal dress', presumably the elaborately embroidered *toga picta* that was the contemporary garb of triumphators, give way to references to a *toga purpurea*, a shift that could be read both as an archaizing move to the old triumphal costume and as an assumption of a quasi-regal status.[35] Dio Cassius in fact explicitly calls Caesar's ceremonial costume 'regal dress'.[36] Weinstock argues

(Brussels: Latomus, 1970), esp. 37–47; L. Bonfante-Warren, "Roman Triumphs and Etruscan Kings: The Changing Face of the Triumph," *JRS* 60 (1970): 49–66, esp. 58–59.

[35] Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 270–71. More generally, on Caesar's regalia and his regal intentions: R. A. G. Carson, "Caesar and the Monarchy," *G&R* n.s. 4 (1957): 46–53, esp. 51–52; H. S. Versnel, *Triumphus: An Enquiry into the Origins, Meaning and Development of the Roman Triumph* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 56–93; E. Rawson, "Caesar's Heritage: Hellenistic Kings and Their Roman Equals," *JRS* 65 (1975): 148–59.

[36] Dio 44.6.1, 44.11.12, 46.17.5.

for a similar development in the associations of the golden crown awarded Caesar. Basing his argument largely on the numismatic and artistic analysis of K. Kraft,[37] Weinstock reads the gem-studded crown later displayed at the Circus in Caesar's absence[38] as triumphal: coins show that it had a ribbon, marking it as a gilded replica of the laurel wreath of a *triumphator*.[39] The crown Caesar frequently wears on coin portraits has no ribbon, however, and has iconographic links to representations of regal crowns in Greek and Etruscan art.[40] Weinstock again sees a chronological development from an honor signifying Caesar's status as permanent *triumphator* to a quasi-regal honor, unprecedented in Republican Rome.[41] Whether this shift is clear or not, the regal associations of both the *toga purpurea* and the *corona aurea* are undeniably strong in Caesar's last months and just afterward. In his second *Philippic*, for example, Cicero uses a polemical emphasis on Caesar's honorific dress to set the stage for the 'Lupercalia incident' of 44, in which Antony offered his co-consul a diadem ostentatiously refused by Caesar: *Sedebat in rostris conlega tuus amictus toga purpurea in sella aurea coronatus* [Your colleague was seated on the rostra, wrapped in a purple toga, crowned, on a golden chair] (*Phil.* 2.85). While the offer of the diadem clearly marks Antony as the instigator of tyranny (*auctor regni*), Cicero rankles, even before the diadem is produced, at the inappropriateness of a Roman consul's demeaning himself before such a figure as Caesar presented: *te consulem esse meminisse deberes* [you should have remembered that you were consul].

The claim to regal majesty implied in the clothing itself is aggravated by the other golden regal attribute Cicero mentions; Caesar sits on the rostra and on a *sella aurea* which positions him, like Maiestas, on high (*sublimis*), and Antony must therefore approach him from below (*escendis, accedis ad sellam*). In 44 Caesar was awarded, for use in the senate house, on the tribunal, and in many other

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37 K. Kraft, "Der goldene Kranz Caesars und der Kampf um die Entlarvung des 'Tyrannen'," *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 4 (1952/3): 7–97, esp. 10–21; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 272 and n. 10 for the generally positive critical reception of Kraft's analysis.

38 Dio 44.6.3.

39 Cf. Weinstock's plate 20.16; cf. also 20.17–18.

40 Kraft, "Der goldene Kranz," 17–21.

41 Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 272.

formal settings, a gilded chair which coins reveal to have been in the shape of the honorific *sella curulis*. While an ivory *sella curulis* served as a marker of the higher magistracies of the Roman Republic,[42] the gilded version could not avoid regal associations: golden thrones were regularly used by kings throughout the Mediterranean and thus seem to have been previously avoided by the Romans both in honoring their own and in presenting gifts to foreign kings.[43] Caesar's gold chair thus marked him out as singularly distinguished from whatever other magistrates surrounded him and once again associated his status with that of kings.[44] Both when he is using his chair and on other public occasions, sources frequently emphasize his physical elevation.[45] The import of this is perhaps clarified by an anecdote in Dio: in the summer of 44, after Caesar's death, rumors of impending conflict were sparked by an incident in which Octavian tried to speak with Antony in the courts "from a high and conspicuous place" [ἀπὸ μετεώρου καὶ ἀπὸ περιόπτου τινός]; Antony (who was, of course, consul at the time) refused and had his lictors drag Octavian down and drive him out (45.3). Dio follows the phrase quoted above with the following: καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰώθει ποιεῖν [the very thing he was accustomed to do under his father]. The subject of this clause cannot be Octavian—the young man would have had no reason before Caesar's death to have been on the judges' platform in the courts; it must refer to Antony. The consul's submission to Caesar is graphically and publicly displayed by his habitual tolerance of being addressed from a position of elevation, and when Octavian attempts to follow Caesar's lead in this, Antony immediately corrects the affront to his political and social position by lowering his rival's physical position. Caesar's physical elevation on all public occasions signifies not just his high status, but his isolation in that status, his superiority to all rivals.

I am suggesting, then, not that Saturn equals Caesar in Ovid's historical allegory, but that the Maiestas represented in *Fasti* 5.27–32 is akin to Caesar's *maiestas*, that the figure of the goddess elevated

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[42] de Libero, *Neue Pauly*, vol. 11, col. 371, *s.v.* "sella curulis"; see also T. Schäfer, *Imperii insignia: sella curulis und fasces* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1989), esp. 50–66.

[43] Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 273.

[44] Dio calls the chair a "royal chair" [ἀρχικὸς δίφρος] (44.4.2); cf. Schäfer, *Imperii insignia*, 114–22.

[45] E.g., Suet. *Caes.* 76.1, Flor. 2.13.91, Dio 44.4.2.

in the middle of Olympus and conspicuous in gold and purple helps Ovid mark out the nature of Caesar's position in the last years of his life as quasi-regal and isolated in power. Caesar's sustained and complex engagement with the idea of his own personal *maiestas* has been given close attention by Bauman, who traces his relation to the *maiestas* concept from his first consulate to his death, asking whether any technical shift of *maiestas* from the *populus Romanus* to Caesar is detectable. While Bauman concludes that no such shift occurs in Caesar's lifetime, he argues that from 59 B.C.E. on the concept of *maiestas* was no passing concern for Caesar, not least because his acts both in the consulate and in Gaul laid him open to charges of diminishing the *maiestas populi Romani* on a number of counts. As a defense against such charges, Book 1 of Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* systematically aligns Caesar's interests with those of the Republic through a rhetorical strategy Bauman terms the "*ego et populus Romanus* theme":[46] injury done to Caesar overlaps with injury to the state (1.12.7, 1.20.5, 1.33.2); his friends and enemies are the same as those of the Roman People (1.18.7, 1.19.2, 1.35.4); Caesar and the Roman People together render aid, grant favor and support, and exercise influence (1.31.14, 1.31.16, 1.35.2, 1.40.3, 1.45.1). Bauman demonstrates that Caesar invokes this strategy only when recounting events that leave him open to charges of *maiestas*. The *ego et populus Romanus* theme is most prominent in Book 1, where Caesar treats his departures from his province, first to block the passage of the Helvetii through the territory of the Aedui and Sequani and later to campaign against Ariovistus; these departures without orders from the SPQR were a clear contravention of a Sullan *maiestas* law.[47] The theme resurfaces in Book 4, in defense of Caesar's massacre of the Usipetes and Tencteri in 55 B.C.E.: again, *maiestas* charges were possible in this instance, both for his mistreatment of the German tribes' envoys and for the massacre itself, which diminished the Roman people's *maiestas* on the grounds of "making enemies of the Roman people's friends."[48] We see in development, then, in Caesar's account of the events of 59–52 B.C.E., a concept of the political importance of Caesar's personal interests and concerns whose relation to the

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[46] Bauman, *Crimen Maiestatis*, 93–139.
[47] Ibid., 105–10.
[48] Ibid., 111–12, 123.

traditional and legal *maiestas populi Romani* was not yet clearly defined. Caesar was at pains to connect his own authority, injury, and favor to those of the Roman people, but this connection was evoked precisely when questions of Caesar's violation of the *maiestas populi Romani* were raised; the new concept is thus being structured both through and against the old one.

Bauman also links this strategy to Caesar's demonstrable concern with his own *dignitas*. Suetonius reports a popular demonstration as early as 62 B.C.E. in defense of Caesar's *dignitas* after his praetorship was suspended (*Jul.* 16.2) and the idea arises regularly throughout Caesar's later career. *Bellum Gallicum* 8, Aulus Hirtius' supplement covering the years 51–50, shows a stronger emphasis on Caesar's own *dignitas* as an explanation for his actions than Caesar's own account of the war, and a weaker emphasis on its connection to the *maiestas populi Romani.*[49] Drawing heavily on Caesar's dispatches from 51–50, but written after his death, the book may reflect the clear sense of Caesar's personal *dignitas* as political motive that emerged in the Civil War and its aftermath. According to Cicero in a letter to Atticus of mid-January 49, Caesar justified his invasion of Italy as a defense of his own dignity [*Atque haec ait omnia facere se dignitatis causa*] (*Att.* 7.11.1); Cicero's reaction to this claim betrays its implications:

> *Ubi est autem dignitas nisi ubi honestas? Honestum igitur habere exercitum nullo publico consilio, occupare urbes civium, quo facilior sit aditus ad patriam,* χρεῶν ἀποκοπάς, φυγάδων καθόδους, *sescenta alia scelera moliri,* τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἔχειν τυραννίδα?
>
> [But where is dignity without honor? And so is it honorable to hold an army without the sanction of the people, to seize the cities of citizens in order to make an easier attack on one's homeland, to abolish debts, to restore exiles, and undertake hundreds of other crimes, 'in order to obtain that greatest of gods, Sole Power'?]
>
> (Cic. *Att.* 7.11.1)

Cicero sees Caesar's assertion of *dignitas* as both directly opposed to the *maiestas populi Romani* (it results in the usurpation of the people's authority and military attacks on Italy and Rome) and also indicative of a claim to regal *maiestas*, a claim to a place as tyrant. Cicero quotes at the end of the passage from an *agon* in Euripides' *Phoenissae*

[49] Caes. *Gal.* 8.6.2, 8.50.4, 8.52.4, 8.53.1; Bauman, *Crimen Maiestatis*, 124–25.

(506) where Eteocles defends his refusal to yield rule of Thebes to his brother as the reasonable result of the differentiation of power and honor among men: effectively, since *maiestas* exists, Eteocles wants it. Polyneices, by contrast, has based his argument on the common good aimed at by his arrangement to share power with his brother on a yearly basis—the concept is hardly the equivalent of the very Roman *maiestas populi Romani*, but it does give priority to the interests of the house and the fatherland above individual interests.

Though Caesar never writes of his own *maiestas* (the expression would certainly have done him no rhetorical good in protecting himself from charges of 'diminishing *maiestas*'), *dignitas* and *maiestas* are very closely linked conceptually, and often substitute for one another: Cicero, for example, uses *dignitas*, as well as *amplitudo* and *potestas*, to help explicate the meaning of *maiestas* (*Inv.* 2.53).[50] *Bellum Civile* 1.8–9 offers Caesar's most complex exploration of the relation between the people's *maiestas* and what amounts to his own. Pompey sends envoys to Caesar claiming that he himself has always acted "for the sake of the state" [*rei publicae causa*], "That he has always considered the interests of the state more important than private connections. That Caesar too, in accordance with his dignity, ought to put aside personal devotion and resentment for the benefit of the republic and should not be so seriously angered by his enemies that, while hoping to injure them, he injures the republic" [*Semper se rei publicae commoda privatis necessitudinibus habuisse potiora. Caesarem quoque pro sua dignitate debere et studium et iracundiam suam rei publicae dimittere neque adeo graviter irasci inimicis, ut, cum illis nocere se speret, rei publicae noceat*] (*Civ.* 1.8.3). Caesar emphasizes that the second envoy uses *eisdem verbis*, "the same words," drawing attention to the carefully chosen terms of Pompey's message. Throughout, Pompey opposes personal interests (*privatis necessitudinibus, studium et iracundiam suam, inimicis*) to the *res publica*. He also explicitly invokes the idea of Caesar's *dignitas*, suggesting that considering the state's interests above his own is the only choice compatible with personal *dignitas*; Caesar's *dignitas*, in Pompey's terms, ought to be the equivalent of the *maiestas* conveyed on Roman magistrates and generals by the Roman people, an extension of the *maiestas populi Romani*. Caesar's response to Pompey's envoys begins with

[50] Cf. *Rhet. Her.* 4.35, Liv. 42.92.2, *Dig.* 49.15.7.1; see Bauman, *Crimen Maiestatis*, 118–19.

an assertion of the primacy of his own dignity: "He said that for him dignity had always been first and more important than life" [*Sibi semper primam fuisse dignitatem vitaque potiorem*] (1.9.2). While Caesar invokes the interests of the republic in other parts of the speech, this first line makes a rhetorically strong answer to Pompey's attempt to define Caesar's *dignitas* as dependent upon the *maiestas populi Romani* and its phrasing sets up a direct contrast to Pompey's self-righteous claim to have subsumed private concerns to those of the state. The question of the relation of Caesar to the state, that is, the question of whose dignity, whose *maiestas* is more important, is clearly a critical issue in this period, with a growing sense that Caesar is making a claim to personal *maiestas* independent of the *populus Romanus*, a claim eventually recognized in the honors voted Caesar after the battle of Munda.

Ovid's Maiestas in her first period is an embodiment of this absolute *maiestas*, a concept constructed not necessarily as against the authority of the state, but as separate from and above it. Maiestas is not entirely alone on her elevated perch, however: the embodiments of Fear and Shame that sit beside her are, as Mackie points out, "the two alternative attitudes one may have towards one's betters in a hierarchical society."[51] Again, a link to Caesar offers itself: Appian describes Caesar upon his return to Rome after his victory at Munda in 45, as received "with fear and respect like no one before him had enjoyed" [ἐπὶ φόβου καὶ δόξης, οἵας οὔ τις πρὸ τοῦ] (*B.C.* 2.106). Appian nowhere else coordinates or opposes φόβος and δόξα and clearly marks their coordination as unprecedented and particularly characteristic of Caesar's status. Though δόξα is perhaps not the most obvious translation of *pudor*, this unusual phrase of Appian's may well represent the pairing of *pudor* and *metus* in his Latin source, whether Livy or another annalist.[52] Whether fear or shamefaced respect for honors dominates the lesser gods' feelings towards Maiestas in the Ovid passage is perhaps to be determined from their reaction: they adjust their expressions to match hers (*numen ad hanc voltus composuisse suos* [5.30]). The import of this clause seems to have

[51] Mackie, "Birth of Maiestas," 92.

[52] The two words are a frequent rhetorical pair in Livy whether opposed (*metus* removes concerns based on *pudor*, or vice versa; e.g. Liv. 2.65.4, 27.12.15) or conjoined (Liv. 2.58.7, 25.3.17).

been lost on most critics: *vultum componere* and similar expressions regularly imply a conscious effort to make one's appearance conceal one's true feelings.[53] Tacitus thus describes the elite reaction to Tiberius' accession to the throne as a careful performance of facial modification: *quanto quis inlustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinantes, vultuque composito ne laeti excessu principis neu tristiores primordio, lacrimas gaudium, questus adulationem miscebant* [The more prominent they were, the faster they were to pretend, and, adjusting their expressions in order not to seem happy at the death of one emperor or sad about the beginning of the new reign, they mixed tears with rejoicing and laments with flattery] (*Ann.* 1.7). The gods' 'adjusted' expressions upon Maiestas' ascent to the top of Olympus are not an outward demonstration of spontaneous inner conversion to respect for the value she represents; rather, they are the masks of cowed inferiors, acknowledging the superior power of the new goddess and being careful not to offend her.

Maiestas' position after the gigantomachy is quite different: the crisis and its dénouement seem somehow to integrate her into the divine order; the gods defend her, and from then on she is *culta*, 'worshipped' (5.43–44). The more balanced or reciprocal nature of the relation between the divine order and Maiestas in this later period is exemplified by the goddess' relation to Jupiter: *'assidet inde Iovis, Iovis est fidissima custos,/et praestat sine vi sceptra timenda Iovi'* ['From then on she sits at the side of Jupiter, she's Jupiter's most faithful guardian, and, unforced, she offers Jupiter the dread scepter'] (5.45–46]). This last line has again proven troublesome for translators and critics, largely because of their failure to acknowledge a significant change between Maiestas' first phase and this second one.[54] If we recognize that Maiestas was earlier positioned as the embodiment of regal power and accompanied by Metus, it becomes clear that the *sceptra timenda* is in some sense hers to offer, and that the phrase *sine vi* signifies her voluntary support for Jupiter's rule, a marked contrast from the giants' violent rebellion against it. Just as she physically

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[53] See *OLD*, *s.v.* "compono", 11.

[54] Nagle, ad loc.: "'and she keep's Jove's awesome sovereignty unchallenged'"; Boyle and Woodard: "'She . . . preserves Jove's dread scepter without force'"; cf. Mackie: "Maiestas . . . ensures that Jupiter can rule *without* resorting to force" (92). Frazer too interprets Maiestas as *preserving* Jupiter's power (rather than, in effect, granting it), but does so based on an alternative manuscript reading of *tenenda* for *timenda*, thus "'she assures to him his sceptre's peaceful tenure.'"

shifts from a central and elevated position to a place at the side of Jove, Maiestas moves from standing as an isolated regal figure to voluntarily granting her power and protection to another ruling order and receiving worship and permanence in return.

I am, of course, suggesting that this shift is a means of exploring how Caesar's quasi-regal position relates to Augustus' *statio*, his careful positioning of himself in relation to the political order of the Republic. This relation is most famously encapsulated near the conclusion of Augustus' *Res Gestae: In consulato sexto et septimo, postquam bella civilia exstinxeram, per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli* [In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had exstinguished civil wars and by universal consent was in control of all affairs, I transferred the state from my power to the control of the senate and people of Rome] (34.1). The senate immediately responds to Octavian's divestiture of formal power (*quo pro merito* [34.2]) with the well-known set of symbolic honors: the *cognomen* Augustus, laurel at his doorposts, the oaken *corona civica*, and the *clipeus virtutum*. More impressive still is the long-term response: *Post id tempus auctoritate omnibus praestiti, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam ceteri qui mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae fuerunt* [After that time I surpassed all in influence, but had no more official power than the others who were my colleagues in office] (34.3). Augustus' emphasis both on the voluntary nature of his return of the *res publica* to the senate and people and on the reciprocal nature of the honors and authority granted him find a mirror in Ovid's articulation of Maiestas' second phase: just as Maiestas earlier offered an apt figure of Caesar's personal power as isolated from traditional Republican ruling bodies, she is now used to explore the means and results of the alliance of Augustus' personal power with those same bodies.

Augustus' configuration of his personal power in relation to the state is consistent with the basic image of the *civilis princeps*, the emperor exhibiting his *civilitas*, his status as an ordinary citizen.[55] A.

[55] A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Civilis Princeps: Between Citizen and King," *JRS* 72 (1982): 32–48. See also P. A. Brunt's detailed demonstration of Augustus' consistent practice of consulting the senate and representing it as the source of initiatives: "The Role of the Senate in the Augustan Regime," *CQ* 34 (1984): 423–44; more recently, C. Ando has emphasized the importance of the advertisement of the senate's role as the emperor's ally in promoting consensus among provincials as well:

Wallace-Hadrill has argued that studied displays of the *princeps*' refusal of offered powers and honors, publicly staged demonstrations of his respect for the senate and the people, and voluntary sacrifices of personal power to them have the effect of simultaneously asserting the continued power of the traditional governing bodies and dramatizing the emperor's personal power. Far from being just a sham or an illusion, these sorts of displays actually function to integrate the emperor's personal *maiestas* into the old order: "An emperor whom ritual and ceremonial raised above the level of human society, whose power was represented symbolically as deriving from 'outside', from the gods, owed nothing to the internal structure of the society he ruled. To act, by contrast, as a member of that society, as the peer of its most elevated members, was (symbolically) to associate autocratic power with the social structure. Civility both reinforced the social hierarchy by demonstrating imperial respect for it and strengthened the autocracy by linking it with the social structure."[56] Wallace-Hadrill's contrast between these two means of representing power is strikingly consistent with the differences we have observed between Ovid's two phases of Maiestas. Even the integration of autocratic authority into the social structure accomplished by imperial *civilitas* is played out in Ovid's second phase of Maiestas' history: from her position at the side of Jupiter, Maiestas moves into the world at large, receives the worship of Roman kings, protects mothers and fathers, acts as chaperone to the young, supports elected magistrates and rides in triumph (5.47–52). Her full realization as a social and moral force and her stability and permanence (cf. 5.44) are thus closely associated with her alliance with Jupiter, the divine representative of the ruling order.[57]

This 'history of Maiestas' that Ovid offers is not, of course, the same as a history of the concept of *maiestas*. It focuses almost entirely on the idea of the personal *maiestas* of a Roman ruler, which only begins to be articulated in the Caesarian and Augustan periods. By his creation of the goddess Maiestas, who survives one reign and the conflict at its end to redefine her place in the world, Ovid articulates

Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 2000), 152–68.

[56] Wallace-Hadrill, "Civilis Princeps," 47.

[57] Cf. Mackie, "Birth of Maiestas," 90–92.

the reality of Augustus' autocratic power as a continuity with the Caesarian past (the same Maiestas appears in both phases of the history) and an equally real shift in that power's relation to the social and political structure. This first etymology of the six that will 'define' the month-pair of May and June thus does a great deal of work, raising from the start of Book 5 the prospect of July and August on the horizon, the question of what it means for Augustus to be Caesar's heir, and the broader issue of the relation of the late Republican past to the imperial present. If we are willing to read the second phase of Maiestas' history as Augustan, then Polyhymnia's narrative posits an improvement, or at least a correction, to the late-Republican and particularly Caesarian configuration of personal authority: Augustus' *maiestas* is marked as better integrated into the social structure and thus more far-reaching and permanent than Caesar's. Maiestas has learned from her past, and what she has learned is how to last.

"The older god fell . . ."

But there is at least one more story to be told here. We noted earlier that in Maiestas' first phase, Saturn is nearly invisible; he appears only briefly to mark the end of the period: *'hic status in caelo multos permansit in annos,/dum senior fatis excidit arce deus'* ['This situation continued in heaven for many years, until the older god fell by fate from the citadel'] (*Fast.* 5.33–34). From here Ovid (or Polyhymnia) quickly changes topic to the Olympian gods' military defeat of the giants. The Muse has conveniently elided the circumstances of Saturn's fall, most importantly, the conflict with his youngest son that precipitated it. In the Hesiodic narrative Kronos receives a prophecy of his overthrow and swallows his children to prevent its fulfillment; Zeus eventually leads his siblings in a rebellion, takes over his father's throne, and chains him and the other Titans in Tartaros for eternity (*Th.* 463–735). Polyhymnia is sweeping quite a lot under the rug with her euphemistic statement of Saturn's fall. Mackie notes the "slightly abrupt shift" of topic here and suggests that it marks Saturn's overthrow as an "irrelevant (and unwanted) break in the Maiestas story that Ovid is trying to tell,"[58] and indeed there is an

[58] Ibid., 84.

inherent conflict between the basic principles of *maiestas* as Polyhymnia defines it and Jupiter's defeat of his elder, his parent, and the king, all in one fell swoop.

While it is perhaps in Polyhymnia's interest to change the topic quickly, her story is not Ovid's, as the next etymology for May makes clear. Urania explicitly "picks up" (*excipit* [55]) the thread of Polyhymnia's speech, tracing the month's name to *maiores*, "elders" and thus bringing the issue of respect for age right back to the fore: *'magna fuit quondam capitis reverentia cani,/inque suo pretio ruga senilis erat'* ['Great respect was once paid to a grey head and the wrinkles of old age had their own reward'] (5.57–58). While Polyhymnia's theogony narrated the establishment of the present order, associated with Jupiter and the Olympian gods, Urania's past tense verbs nostalgically look back to a time *before* the present order, and date respect for age to that time. This glance back asks us to think once again of the story elided by Polyhymnia: in Jupiter's overthrow of Saturn, a foundational act of the present Olympian order, one element of *maiestas* (superiority in power) beat out another (superiority in age). For Urania, *maiestas* is, or should be, coterminous with *senioritas*; her explanation of the month name in fact depends on an equation between *senior* and *maior*: the *senes* of the senate named the month *Maius* in honor of their own age or Romulus named it for them at the request of his grandfather (5.74–76). Urania has not allowed Polyhymnia's *senior deus* to fall unnoticed: she gently reasserts the respect due to age, but also marks that respect as no longer duly paid. Her etymology is both a claim for the relevance of the past and a lament for its eclipse, and her strongest argument for the *maiores* as the honorees of the *mensis Maius* is the honor paid to *iuniores* in the next month.

In the proem to Book 6, Juno again indirectly invokes the competition between her father (Saturn) and her husband (Jupiter), as she makes her own *maiestas* the basic substance of her claim to the month[59] and adduces two major bases for it: *'si genus aspicitur . . . si torus in pretio est . . .'* ['If my noble birth is considered . . . If my marriage bed is to be held high esteem . . .'] (6.29, 33). Jupiter's usefulness in Juno's argument depends primarily on his status at Rome as

[59] Loehr, *Mehrfacherklärungen*, 309–22 offers a thorough analysis (to which my argument owes much) of the shaky logic of Juno's claim.

Jupiter Optimus Maximus and her pairing with him in the Capitoline triad as Juno Regina: '*dicor matrona Tonantis,/iunctaque Tarpeio sunt mea templa Iovi*' ['I am called the wife of the Thunderer and my temple is joined to Tarpeian Jupiter'] (6.33–34).[60] Ovid has in fact acknowledged her as the consort of the Capitoline Jupiter from her first appearance in the proem (6.18) and Juno twice more alludes to this pairing in her speech; at 37–38 she names herself as "queen of the gods" [*regina dearum*] and describes herself as holding a golden scepter, like the cult statue in the Capitoline temple;[61] she closes her veiled threats against the city with a reassuring wish for continued tenure of the temple alongside Jove: '*hic teneam cum Iove templum meo*' (6.52). The goddess' emphasis on her position at the side of her husband replays Polyhymnia's placement of Maiestas as Jupiter's companion (5.45); the golden scepter that marks her as Juno Regina evokes the scepter Maiestas proffers to Jove (5.46). Though the epithet *Maximus* is never expressly used in this section, it lingers in the background throughout—Jupiter's absolute *maiestas* as king of the gods and chief god of Rome is central to Juno's claim to her own *maiestas* and to the month.

In her argument based on her *genus*, that is, her birth from Saturn, Juno emphasizes age and primacy. She is Saturn's eldest offspring: '*Saturnum prima parentem/feci, Saturni sors ego prima fui*' ['I was the first to make Saturn a father, I was the lot he drew first'] (6.29–30). Saturn himself can also claim honor based on primacy in Rome: the place was called Saturnia when he made it his home after his expulsion from the heavens (*a patre dicta meo quondam Saturnia Roma est:/haec illi a caelo proxima terra fuit* [6.31–32]). This last detail, of course, again makes oblique reference to Saturn's overthrow by his son, but using a tradition quite different from Hesiod's; for reasons similar to Polyhymnia's, Juno too elides the details, making reference to her father's exile in Italy, but not to the events that brought him there.[62] The goddess' claim to supremacy depends on taking the *maiestas* of both her father and her husband as presently and per-

[60] Ibid., 312–13. Loehr emphasizes the frequent identification between Jupiter Tonans and Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the Augustan period. Cf. Bömer ad *Fast.* 2.69 ff. and Lieberg, "Iuno bei Ovid," 930–32.

[61] Ley, *Neue Pauly* vol. 6, col. 76, *s.v.* "Iuno".

[62] Loehr, *Mehrfacherklärungen*, 311–12.

manently effective, so dwelling on the shift in power from Saturn to Jupiter does not serve her purposes. There lurks here, however, an exacerbation of Juno's rhetorical problem. The identification she makes of the land called 'Saturnia' with Rome itself is rare; more often the *Saturnia tellus* where Saturn spends his exile is identified with Latium.[63] Varro, however, reports that the Capitoline itself used to be called the *mons Saturnius* and that it held a town called *Saturnia* (*L.L.* 5.42), and it is likely this tradition that Ovid has in mind.[64] Juno, then, is invoking her father's connection not just to Latium, but to Rome, and specifically to the Capitoline hill, whose present occupation by her husband (and herself) she so heavily emphasizes in the same speech: Saturn, it would seem, has been supplanted by his son not just on the heavenly *arx*, but on the Roman one as well.

Vergil's evocation of the town of Saturnia comes in a passage heavily laden with layered pasts: Evander's guided tour of the site of Rome in *Aeneid* 8. Aeneas and Evander come to the future Capitoline, "golden now, once bristling with wooded thickets" [*aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis*] (*Aen.* 8.348), and Evander remarks on the numinous nature of the place: *'hoc nemus, hunc' inquit 'frondoso vertice collem/(quis deus incertum est) habitat deus; Arcades ipsum/credunt se vidisse Iovem . . .'* ['This grove and this hill with its leafy peak,' he said, 'a god inhabits (it's unclear which god); the Arcadians believe they've seen Jupiter himself . . .'] (8.351–53). Evander's unsettled hill is thus already imprinted with Rome's presence, an impression underlined by the narrator's anaphoric *iam tum . . . iam tum . . .* [already then . . . already then . . .] in introducing the scene (8.349–50). Despite the contrast between present-day gold and past sylvan squalor, Jupiter's occupation of the hill marks a strong continuity between this distant past and Vergil's Augustan present. But there is more to be seen:

'haec duo praeterea disiectis oppida muris,
reliquias veterumque vides monimenta virorum.
hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem,
Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.'

[63] Varr. *L.L.* 5.42, with reference to Ennius; Verg. *Aen.* 8.329; and even elsewhere in the *Fasti*: 1.235–38, 5.625.

[64] I owe this observation to Lieberg, "Iuno bei Ovid," 929, though he comes to a very different interpretation, arguing that Juno is here avoiding an opposition between Saturn and herself as patrons of Latium and Jupiter as patron of Rome.

> ['You see, besides, these two towns with their walls scattered, remnants and monuments of ancient men. Father Janus founded this citadel, Saturnus this one; Janiculum was the name of this one, Saturnia the name of that.']
>
> (*Aen.* 8.355–58)

Even if Jupiter now holds the site, for Evander, physical remains of Saturn's earlier settlement are still visible on the Capitoline, functioning as spurs to memory (*monimenta*). Nonetheless, this last observation on the hill is syntactically cut off from the emphasis on continuity that precedes it: the connecting adverb *praeterea* introduces it as a new and separate topic, and Evander's last verb, *fuerat*, is cast oddly into the pluperfect, relegating Saturnia distinctly to the past. This Vergilian intertext makes it clear that Saturn's second 'fall' from the *arx*, Jupiter's second displacement of his father, links their generational conflict over *maiestas* to the relation between Rome's past and her present. The ruins of Saturnia are, by Vergil and Ovid's day, thoroughly buried beneath the golden splendor of Jupiter's Capitoline. The selective preservation of the past is tied to political utility, and there is no reason for the victor in this struggle to have preserved the city or the memory of his rival.

Concord comes at last (6.91–96)

This competitive construction both of *maiestas* and of the relation between past and present finds more expansive expression in the full proem of Book 6, where Juno and Juventas' rival claims to the month are intensified and complicated by a sense of generational conflict. Juventas' etymology of *Iunius* from *iuniores* and her basic nature as the embodiment of youth intimately associate her with the younger generation as a whole, but she is also cast in a specific generational relation to Juno: as *Herculis uxor* (6.65), she is identified with the Greek Hebe, Hera's daughter. Juventas grants Juno obedience and respect as the due of a mother: '*non ego, si toto mater me cedere caelo/iusserit, invita matre morabor*' ['If my mother orders me to leave all of heaven, I will not remain against my mother's will'] (6.67–68). She even bases her own claim to the month in part on her mother's clear superiority in honors:

> '*aurea possedit socio Capitolia templo*
> *mater et, ut debet, cum Iove summa tenet;*

> *at decus omne mihi contingit origine mensis:*
> *unicus est, de quo sollicitamur, honor.'*
>
> ['My mother dwells on the golden Capitol in a shared temple, and she holds the heights along with Jove, as she ought to; but my whole dignity hangs on the origin of this month: the honor I'm worried about is my only one.']
>
> (6.73–76)

By treating Juno as both parent and the consort of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juventas seems to grant the legitimacy of her mother's claim to *maiestas* based on both age and regal power. With the *maiestas* model, however, comes competition, and Juventas' identification from the start with her husband Hercules, Juno's personal enemy, puts her in an oppositional relationship to her mother.[65] Juventas has been listening carefully to Juno's claim based on Jupiter's *maiestas* and brings up her own husband's 'greatness', his services defending Rome from the monster Cacus: *'haec quoque terra aliquid debet mihi nomine magni/coniugis'* ['This country also owes me something for the sake of my great husband'] (6.79–80). Juventas' speech ends with a (potentially) open quarrel between her and her mother: *in litem studio certaminis issent,/atque ira pietas dissimulata foret*... [They would have come into conflict in their competitiveness, and their familial devotion would have been masked by anger...] (6.89–90).

The appearance of Concordia with her etymology of *Iunius* from *iungere* both brings some degree of settlement to this brewing contention and again raises questions of the relationship between the Caesarian past and the Augustan present. As we have already seen in Chapter 4, Concordia is central to the dynastic ideology of the late Augustan and early Tiberian period with the emphasis shifting from the Republican concord of the orders to the concord of the imperial household. Concordia's appearance in the proem of Book 6 is clearly partly motivated by the June 11 dedication of the *aedes Concordiae* in the Porticus Liviae, on which occasion Ovid connects Concordia closely with the domestic concord of the *domus Augusta* (6.637–48). Here too, Ovid unmistakably associates the goddess with

[65] But one eventually subject to reconciliation: Loehr, *Mehrfacherklärungen*, 322–23. Loehr points out that Juventas' speech is part personal claim and part aitiology, part oppositional and part conciliatory, and sees her as moderating between Juno's competitiveness and Concordia.

Augustus: she wears in her hair the laurel of the *princeps*' patron god, Apollo, and is called *placidi numen opusque ducis* [the divinity and the work of the peaceful general] in a phrase that can only refer to Augustus here. As Newlands has observed, the Augustan 'domestic' angle of Concordia seems particularly appropriate to the conflict at hand between mother and daughter, an appropriateness which, in Newlands' view, only adds to the sense of disappointed expectations when the goddess presents her own etymology: "Far from being a figure of domestic harmony, she fuels domestic discord."[66]

This judgment ignores, however, the relation between Concordia's presentation of her etymology and the claims based on *maiestas* made by Juno and Juventas. Loehr has recently given this question closer attention, arguing that Concordia's narrative, though briefly expressed, gives Juno and Juventas a model for reconciliation and coexistence in part by narrating the union of Tatius and Romulus, the Sabines and the Romans. Juno had earlier named this conflict as a regrettable instance in which she allowed a power she favored to submit to Rome: *'adde senem Tatium Iunonicolasque Faliscos,/quos ego Romanis succubuisse tuli'* ['Add old Tatius and the Juno-worshipping Faliscans whose submission to the Romans I endured'] (6.49–50). Concordia, by contrast, carefully avoids any language that speaks of a ranking of powers, of submission, victory or defeat. Instead she emphasizes the idea of joining with a reiteration of the preposition and prefix *cum/co-* that forms part of her own name: *cum populis, coisse, communi lare* (6.94–95). While the goddess herself is more modest, Livy had called this very unification of Sabines and Romans 'concordant': *Inde non modo commune, sed concors etiam regnum duobus regibus fuit* [From that point, the reign was not only communal for the two kings, but was also concordant] (Liv. 1.13.8).[67] Concordia specifically figures this conflict-turned-to-concord as familial and generational, like that between Juno and her daughter: the Sabines and Romans are fathers-in-law and sons-in-law (*soceros generosque* [*Fast.* 6.95]). If Concordia's speech works to resolve the conflict between Juno and Juventas, it is because it offers an alternative to the competitive model of generational relations they had taken up.

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[66] Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 78.

[67] Cf. R. Brown, "Livy's Sabine Women and The Ideal of *Concordia*," *TAPA* 125 (1995): 291–319.

But Concordia's historical exemplum of unified *soceri* and *generi* would likely also have evoked a less successful alliance of *socer* and *gener* in Rome's more recent past: Pompey's marriage to Caesar's daughter Julia in 59 B.C.E. was meant to cement concord between the two; her death in 54 was read (at least in hindsight) as the death knell of the first triumvirate.[68] The emotive impact of the familial relationship between these two rivals for power and opposing generals was not lost on the Roman poets: limiting ourselves only to pre-Ovidian material, we can point to Catullus' reference to the two as *socer generque* in his condemnation of both for their patronage of Mamurra in 55 (29.4), and to Vergil's emphasis on Caesar and Pompey's familial bond in Anchises' survey of souls in the underworld, as he laments the outbreak of war between them (*Aen.* 6. 830–31).[69] Earlier in the *Fasti,* as he narrates the rape of the Sabine women, Ovid himself remarks that "then for the first time a father-in-law bore arms against his sons-in-law" [*tum primum generis intulit arma socer*] (*Fast.* 3.203), pointing proleptically to the analogous instance in Rome's more recent past. Ovid's evocation of Caesar and Pompey through the Sabine *soceri* and Roman *generi* fits in with a more general pattern of using the Sabine story to explore the late-Republican "problem of the concord of the powerful," as Weinstock puts it.[70] The question of *concordia* between consular colleagues arises in connection with figures from Sulla to Cicero[71] and the first triumvirate in particular is associated with the goddess Concordia: a coin series in the early 50s and another on the renewal of the alliance in 55 are the first to depict her, and Weinstock suggests that statues of the goddess later set up by the second triumvirate were modelled on similar dedications by the first triumvirate.[72] This new concept

[68] Velleius calls Julia the "guarantor of concord" [*concordiae pignus*] (2.47.2); Valerius Maximus is explicit about the connection between her death and the eventual civil war: *totius terrarum orbis . . . tranquillitas tot civilium bellorum truculentissimo furore perturbata non esset, si Caesaris et Pompei concordia communis sanguinis vinculo constricta mansisset* [The tranquility of the whole world would not have been disrupted by the savage madness of civil war if the concord between Caesar and Pompey had remained bound by the chains of shared blood] (4.6.4). Cf. also Luc. 1.11–20.

[69] Vergil describes the two as "concordant souls" [*concordes animae*] in the underworld (*Aen.* 6.827).

[70] *Divus Julius*, 261.

[71] Cic. *Agr.* 2.103; *Phil.* 13.2; Plut. *Sulla* 6.9.

[72] Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 261–63 and pl. 20.5–6.

of *concordia* played an especially central role in the build-up to the civil war, as evidenced particularly by Cicero's accounts of the numerous diplomatic attempts to head off the conflict by promoting *concordia* between Caesar and Pompey.[73] The deployment of the Sabine story as a paradigm of this sort of concord between powerful men seems to have its roots in this period in which the exemplum presented by the joint rule of Romulus and Titus Tatius stood as an alternative to the looming threat of civil war.[74]

After the war became a reality and Caesar emerged victorious, the concept of *concordia* took a turn that more closely foreshadowed the Augustan instantiation of the goddess as personally linked to the *princeps* (and to his house) and to the idea of peace—remember Ovid's introductory characterization of Concordia as *placidi numen opusque ducis*. If concord is figured as the opposite of civil war,[75] Caesar, in a rather skewed way of thinking, restored *concordia* by defeating Pompey. This ideological position is not least evidenced in the several colonies named Concordia Julia founded or planned by Caesar in the post-war period[76] and by the senate's vote, soon before Caesar's death in 44, to build a temple and dedicate a yearly festival to Concordia Nova "on the grounds that they enjoyed peace because of him" [ὡς καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ εἰρηνοῦντες] (Dio 44.4.5). Partners in this concord are no longer so important as the fact of peace and the dictator's personal role in having achieved it.

The Concordia who stakes a claim for June in Book 6 is thus doubly an inheritance from Caesar. The goddess' aitiology and the exemplum it offers point to a late-Republican concept of the concord of the powerful most frequently and urgently raised by the career of Caesar. The exemplum asks for a harmonius common rule as an alternative to the specter of civil war. However, the goddess' close personal association with Augustus and the peace he provides is traceable instead to the concept of Caesar's *concordia* that emerged in the aftermath of Pharsalus. The triumphs of Caesar and later of Augustus place them in positions of sole power that in a sense ren-

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[73] *Att.* 7.3.5, 7.4.2, 8.2.1, 8.11.7, 8.15A.1, 9.7B.1, 9.11A.1; *Phil.* 2.24; see also Dio 41.15.4, 41.16.4 and Weinstock's discussion (*Divus Julius*, 263–64).

[74] Liv. 1.13.8, 40.41.10; Plut. *Rom.* 23.2. Cf. Brown, "Livy's Sabine Women," 317–18.

[75] Jal, "'Pax civilis'—'Concordia'."

[76] Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 264 and n. 11.

der moot the late-Republican concern to promote concord among the powerful: *concordia* emerges as a social ideal that emanates from the *placidus dux* alone. Thus Concordia in the proem of Book 6 embodies the complex role in Augustan ideology played by the memory of the conflicts of the late Republic and Caesar's role in them. Her personal association with the *princeps* and with peace after civil war effectively commemorates the failure of late-Republican efforts to promote *concordia* between Caesar and Pompey before it came to war. Both Caesar and Augustus effectively rejected the 'concord of the powerful' in favor of a *concordia* based on them alone.

As these first exegeses have demonstrated, the proems of Books 5 and 6 explore the relations between social order and individual power and simultaneously explore the Augustan present's continuities and studied discontinuiites with the Caesarian past. They establish a set of themes based not just on the individual month or on May and June as a pair, but on the four-month sequence created by the renaming of the *mensis Sextilis* in 8 B.C.E. No senatorial edict prescribed a meaning for this calendrical structure, nor did any new set of holidays in these months instantaneously mark a basic reorientation. Nonetheless, the proems of Books 5 and 6 suggest strongly that the transformation of 'Sixth Month' into 'Augustus Month' had an effect on the meanings attributed to May and June, an effect best seen in Ovid's contemporary reading of those months.

Starting with a glance back (the kalends of May)

The proemic extravaganza of Book 5 is followed by a complex treatment of the multiple calendrical and astronomical events on the kalends of May that continues the concerns of the proem to Book 5 into the body of the book, and again suggests the association of these concerns with the memory of the late-Republican past. The kalends by nature hold an emphatic and privileged position at the top of each month-column in the inscribed calendars. Beyond the ritual in which the *rex sacrorum* announced the date of the nones and sacrificed to Juno Covella,[77] the kalends of the ur-calendar would

[77] Macr. *Sat.* 1.15.10. Ovid also notes that all the kalends are sacred to Juno (*Fast.* 1.55).

have been ritually empty: all annual festivals would be set by the announcement by the *rex sacrorum* on the nones and would thus fall later in the month. For this reason, the kalends are something of an open field in the earliest layer of the calendar, occupied by none of the large-letter abbreviations that mark the oldest festivals. Once the calendar was published in a graphic form, however, the visual prominence of the kalends clearly lent special weight to events placed upon them: the Julio-Claudian calendars show one or more temple foundations or festivals on the kalends of nearly every month.[78]

Ovid too gives attention to the kalends in all six books of the *Fasti*, and often with particularly strong connections to the month's titular god,[79] thus using the kalends to emphasize the proem's integral connection to the month and book it introduces and organizes. In Book 5's proem we have no titular god, however, and instead Ovid stages (in conjunction with the proem of Book 6) an exploration of continuities and discontinuities in the ideologies of individual power and social order, playing with a variety of models of competition and cooperation.

The beginning of Ovid's treatment of the kalends of May makes it quite clear that these issues will continue to be central in the body of poem. The section starts with an aetion for the constellation Capella and the cornucopia, tracing them to a goat that nursed Jupiter in his infancy spent on Crete in hiding from his father.[80] It closes with the honors paid to Jupiter's nurse when the god has come to his adulthood and ascendancy: *ille ubi res caeli tenuit solioque paterno/sedit, et invicto nil Iove maius erat* . . . [When he was in charge of heaven and sat on his father's throne, and nothing was greater than unconquered Jove . . .] (5.125–26). The account of the god's infancy and the honors paid to his foster mother (the goat is even called a *mater* at 5.117) unite this section to the similar narrative of

[78] See each kalends in the "Commentarii Diurni" of Degrassi, *Insc. It.* 13.2. Only Nov. 1 lacks observances The one extant pre-Julian calendar, the *Fasti Antiates Maiores*, already shows temple dedications on at least eight of the twelve kalends; the other four are insufficiently preserved to make a determination.

[79] Book 1: interview with Janus and observation of the foundation of joint temples to Aesculapius and Vediovis on the Tiber island; Book 3: the Matronalia and festival of Mars; Book 4: Fortuna Virilis and Venus Verticordia.

[80] On this passage's connection to the proem and also its relation to Aratus and the astronomical tradition, see Gee, *Ovid, Aratus*, 127–53; Boyd, "*Celabitur auctor*," 71–74; Loehr, *Mehrfacherklärungen*, 274.

Mercury's youth and the honors to Maia that constituted the last aetion for the month-name in the proem. The closing, however, carries the reader right back to the Maiestas passage and its account of Jupiter's rise. The (once again) oblique reference to the overthrow of Saturn in Ovid's depiction of Jove sitting on his "father's throne" verbally echoes Polyhymnia's description of the primal disorder of the divine community: '*saepe aliquis solio, quod tu, Saturne, tenebas,/ ausus de media plebe sedere deus*' ['Often some god from the midst of the *plebs* dared to sit on the throne which you held, Saturn'] (5.19–20). Just as lesser gods did in the time before the birth of Maiestas, Jove has removed his father from his position of honor and power and installed himself there, so that now "nothing was greater than Jove" [*nil Iove maius*] (5.126). The use of the word *maius* at so loaded a place, right at the border between the proem and the calendrical entries, ensures that the reader turns to the body of the book with the issues of the proem in mind.

If the astronomical entry continues the proem's concerns into the rest of the book, the calendrical entry for the kalends helps to focus the discussion, moving the question of the relation between past and present, age and youth into the sphere of the Roman ritual calendar:

Praestitibus Maiae Laribus videre Kalendae
aram constitui parvaque signa deum:
voverat illa quidem Curius, sed multa vetustas
destruit; et saxo longa senecta nocet.
. . .
bina gemellorum quaerebam signa deorum
viribus annosae facta caduca morae.

[The kalends of May saw an altar and little statues of the gods set up to the *Lares Praestites*: indeed, Curius had vowed them, but their great antiquity destroyed them; long old age harms even rock. . . . I was searching for the paired statues of the twin gods, rendered tottery by the force of passing years.]

(5.129–32, 143–44)

Through a metonymic focus on the decay of the cult statues and altar, Ovid presents the cult of the *Lares Praestites* as old and therefore decrepit—an evaluation both realistic and surprising. In all likelihood, the ancient altar and statues *were* crumbling, as so many other temples and cult-sites were in the late Republic or, indeed, at any given point in the city's history. The language is familiar: the *Res Gestae*'s long list of temples and other public works restored under

Augustus' direction describes aqueducts as *vetustate labentes* (*R.G.* 20); Suetonius likewise describes the temples Augustus restores as *vetustate conlapsas* (*Aug.* 30.2). However, things become more complicated when Ovid fails to find the twin statues of the *Lares Praestites* and instead finds "a thousand" statue groups of the two *Lares Compitales* and the *Genius Augusti* located at crossroads in the various wards of the city (5.145–46). By 7 B.C.E., Augustus, in association with his reorganization of the city into fourteen *regiones* and 265 *vici*, had added a statue of his own *genius* to the paired *lares* which already received popular cult in the *vici*; the *Lares Compitales* then came to be called the *Lares Augusti*.[81] Barchiesi has offered a valuable corrective reading to critics who see this passage as simple support for the Augustan program of religious renewal, pointing out that Ovid figures the Augustan *lares* and *genius* grouping as replacing and erasing the *Lares Praestites*, not reviving them. Counter to our well-trained Augustan expectations, Ovid emphasizes discontinuity and rupture, using past tense verbs when narrating the *causae* associated with the cult, contrasting the old *bina signa* with the *numina terna* of the new cult. As Barchiesi makes clear, this is a self-conscious representational choice on Ovid's part—while the cult of the *Lares Augusti* had legitimate continuities with the cult of the *Lares Compitales*, it was, as far as we can tell, quite separate from the cult of the *Lares Praestites.* In Barchiesi's reading, "The only valid motive for referring to this cult, which has been transmitted from on high, on the kalends of May lies in the obsessive presence, in every district and on every street corner, of the *Lares Augusti*, who have replaced and obliterated the benign old Lares." Ovid thus offers an "alternative image" to the *repostor templorum*, "that of Augustus as the systematic destroyer of Republican Rome."[82]

In a strictly calendrical sense, Barchiesi is quite right—the *Lares Augusti* do not belong to May and Ovid defers further discussion of

[81] The reorganization of the *vici* and the foundation of altars to the *Lares Augusti* may have begun as early as 12 B.C.E., the same year Augustus became *pontifex maximus*: see Mommsen's commentary on *CIL* VI.454. *Communis opinio* seems, however, to be settling on the later date, led by G. Niebling, "Laribus Augustis Magistri Primi: Der Beginn des Compitalkultes der Lares und des Genius Augusti," *Historia* 5 (1956): 303–31; cf. more recently D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1987–1991), I.1, 84–85; Gradel, *Emperor Worship*, 116–18.

[82] Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 106–10; quote on 109–10.

them to the book of August (5.147–48). The negotiation of the relationship between them and the *Lares Praestites* does, however, belong firmly to *Ovid's* May and to the discourse on the relation of present to past set up by the proem to Book 5. There, Urania emphasized the honors that accompany old age: '*censuram longa senecta dabat*' ['Long old age gave the office of censor'] (5.70); here, with an unmistakable verbal and metrical echo, old age has a different effect: *et saxo longa senecta nocet* [Long old age harms even rock] (5.132). In their prime, the *Lares Praestites* had a protective and quasi-military role, as Ovid makes clear in his manifold etymology for the epithet: *praestant . . . omnia tuta:/stant quoque pro nobis et praesunt moenibus Urbis,/et sunt praesentes et auxiliumque ferunt* [They keep all things safe, they also stand in our defense and preside over the city walls, and they are ready at hand and bring aid] (5.134–36). Ovid's etymological play with *pro/prae-* and with the verbal stem *sta-* once again links the *Lares Praestites* with the proem, but this time with the Roman youth in their protective function. Urania describes them as "holding their posts in defense of their gods" [*iuvenes . . . pro dis aderant in statione suis*] (5.59–60). The statue the poet-narrator is searching for in fact likely represented the *Lares Praestites* as young spear-bearers: a coin of the late second century B.C.E. shows two young men with spears in their left hands and a dog between them; a monogrammatic inscription marks them as LA(res) PR(a)E(stites).[83] But just as this statue is worn away to invisibility, the protective military role of Ovid's *Lares Praestites* is cast in the past tense by the verb that introduces the aetion: *causa . . . fuerat.* Reading in the shadow of the proem, we can see that these *lares* are figured as aging men, displaced from their former role and fallen by the wayside. While the proem to Book 5 figures old men as compensated for their failing physical strength by the aid they bring as advisors ('*consilio patriae saepe ferebat opem*' ['Through his advice he often brought aid to the fatherland'] [5.62]), in the *lares* passage the role of bringing aid (*auxilium ferunt*) is part of the job the *Praestites* performed before old age set in. In Ovid's day, these old *lares* are decayed and therefore useless.

The 'replacement' of the *Lares Praestites* with the *Lares Augusti* is handled in a manner similar to Ovid's ostentatious elisions of the

[83] M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, 2 vol. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), vol. 1, no. 298 and pl. XL.19.

displacement of Saturn by Jupiter in the proem and in the astronomical entry immediately preceding this section. We have seen how Ovid's glance toward the suppressed narrative of Saturn's overthrow brought into question the stability of *maiestas*, exposing the competition at its base, and also destabilized Polyhymnia's and Urania's discourses on the respect given to age. Like the *deus senior* who fell (*excidit*) from the citadel, the *Lares Praestites* too are made *caduca*, "tottery", "fall-ible" by aging. As with Saturn's fall, the poet-narrator gives no account of the process by which the 'fall' of the old *lares* came about and instead shifts his attention suddenly to the new cult in all its abundance and power; as Barchiesi has suggested, however, this gap and the discontinuity it underlines allows the reader's attention to go elsewhere, to the story, or stories, untold. Barchiesi's reading of Augustus as "systematic destroyer" of the past is one such possible alternative story; for Barchiesi the *Lares Praestites* are "benign" and the new *Lares Augusti* a (presumably malignant) "obsessive presence".

Change need not necessarily be a bad thing, though—not every practice is worth conserving. Ovid's treatment of the *Lares Praestites* makes them embody a fundamental failure of the generational continuity and complementarity that ensures the stability of Roman society. Their strict identification with the protective military role of the *iuvenes* has meant failure as *senes*, failure to age in a socially useful way. The state stands protected neither by their military *virtus*, nor by a compensatory political or domestic guardianship. The cult that Ovid figures as replacing the *Lares Praestites* combines representations of youth and age and seems to undo the radical discontinuity between the functions of the two.

We have preserved a significant number of statuette groups and altars belonging to the cult of the *Lares Augusti* and *Genius Augusti* and their iconography is quite consistent. The two *lares* are represented as young men wearing short, belted tunics, sometimes crowned with flowers; they are posed dancing, on their toes, with one arm raised above their heads, and usually holding a drinking horn and a libation plate or a water bucket.[84] Whatever the original relation between

[84] There is, unfortunately, no convenient collection of all the statuettes and altars. M. Hano, ("A l'origine du culte imperial: les autels des Lares Augusti: Recherches sur les thèmes iconographiques et leur significations," *ANRW* II.16.3:2333–81) offers a recent iconographic study of the altars with good bibliography. See also the plates

the household cult of the *lares* as ancestor gods and the worship of the *lares* at the *compita*, by the Augustan period the two cults shared an iconography and clearly were part of the same religious construct.[85] On the altars in the *vici*, the figures are nearly always marked as Augustan by the presence of laurel, and sometimes also by a representation of the oak *corona civica* or the *clipeus virtutum*. These references to the honors paid to and displayed on the house of Augustus clearly mark this cult as in some sense a 'publication' of the imperial family's *lares*.[86] The figure of the *genius* is likewise drawn from domestic cult and, as its relation to the verbal stem *gen-* makes clear, is closely linked to generative power: "In its particular domestic ambience the Genius generally refers to the guiding *numen* of the family, its procreative force, and especially the living spirit of the *paterfamilias* . . . The most important power it represented was fertility and the watchful power to continue the family *nomen* and *gens* from one generation to another."[87] The *genius* is a togate figure, head covered and often sacrificing, and often holding a cornucopia as a symbol of this continuity of fertility and abundance.[88] As the *genius* of the *pater* of all Rome, the *Genius Augusti* embodied this power for the whole state. The pairing of the youthful and vigorous *Lares Compitales/Augusti* with the mature togate figure of Augustus' *genius* also might be read as a figure of generational complementarity and continuity: the state as

in I. S. Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1955) and T. Fröhlich, *Lararien- und Fassadenbilder in den Vesuvstädten: Untersuchungen zur "volkstümlichen" pompejanischen Malerei* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1991).

[85] See discussion and bibliography in D. G. Orr, "Roman Domestic Religion: The evidence of the Household Shrines," *ANRW* 2.16.2: 1557–91, esp. 1563–66. On developments in the iconography in the Augustan period: E. B. Thomas, "Lar angusti clavi," *Folia Archaeologica* 15 (1963): 21–42; on the influence of the Augustan cult on the household iconography of the household cult, Gradel, *Emperor Worship*, 122–23, and bibliography there.

[86] The most influential proponents of this view have been Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*, 166–74 and L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, Conn.: The American Philological Association, 1931), 184–91. See Gradel, *Emperor Worship*, 115–28 for a subtle re-examination of the question with some important refinements.

[87] Orr, "Domestic Religion," 1569–70; and on the *Genius Augusti* in particular, H. Hänlein Schäfer, "Die Ikonographie des *Genius Augusti* im Kompital- und Hauskult der frühen Kaiserzeit," in *Subject and Rule: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity*, ed. A. Small (Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1996), 73–98.

[88] Cf. Gee's discussion of the cornucopia in the star myth of *Fast.* 5.111–28, which notes the horn's use in Augustan art as a sign of the Golden Age's peace and abundance (*Ovid, Aratus*, 133–38).

a whole will remain well-supplied with both vigor and wisdom.[89] As a contrast to the sense of aging as a disruptive and destructive force in Ovid's representation of the all but defunct *Lares Praestites*, the new Augustan cult lays emphasis on abundance and continual regeneration.

The ideology behind the cult of the *Lares Augusti* and *Genius Augusti* is then in contrast with the antiquity and decrepitude of the *Lares Praestites*, at least as they are represented by Ovid, and the contrast is, as I have been suggesting, part of the conversation already begun by the proem. Not only can we read the relation between the two cults as effectively an overthrow of the old by the new, *à la* Barchiesi, but we can also read it as replacing the young military protector of the city who ages into uselessness with a model of generational continuity and complementarity. This picture of generational continuity associated with the *princeps* and the honors paid to his house is already familiar from our earlier discussion of the *domus Augusta*; the glance backward to what came before and the question of the new cult's relation to the past is not so familiar, however. The best known of the extant altars of the *Lares Augusti* provides a nice counterpart to our reading: it brings the cult's relation to the past directly into the picture via the figure of Caesar, and treats precisely these questions of generational continuity.

The so-called 'Belvedere altar' was definitively identified by Zanker in 1969 as an altar of the *vicomagistri* dedicated to the *Lares Augusti* and *Genius Augusti* and dated to the years between Augustus' reorganization of the *vici* in 7 B.C.E. and his acceptance of the title *pater patriae* in 2 B.C.E.[90] While many controversies remain over the interpretation of details of the four sculpted sides of the altar, the main panel, depicting an apotheosis, is of central concern to us here (see

[89] Gradel sees in depictions of the *genius* a generic "togate youth" reflecting "the fertility aspect of this 'life force'" (*Emperor Worship*, 42). I have reviewed the images and scholarship he cites and the point seems to hinge on H. Kunckel's iconographic analysis (*Der römische Genius* [Heidelberg: Kerle, 1974]), where certain representations of first century B.C.E. *genii* are described as "young" (19 in reference to plate 37.1; 20 in reference to plates 43.2 and 44.2) and one post-Augustan statue of the *Genius Augusti* is linked in its youthful appearance to the *genius*' embodiment of "Lebens- und Zeugungskraft" (27 in reference to plate 10.1). Kunckel makes no overarching interpretation, however. The Augustan *genius* is not represented as *old*, but indeed, neither is Augustus: his portrait ages to a robust maturity and then stalls there in "an ageless 'classical' beauty" (Zanker, *Power of Images*, 98–99).

[90] P. Zanker, "Der Larenaltar in Belvedere des Vatikans," *MDAI (R)* 76 (1969): 205–18.

Plate 3). Zanker convincingly argues that the figure being drawn to heaven in a four-horse chariot is Caesar; Augustus observes the apotheosis to the left, and to the right, Venus Genetrix, flanked by Gaius and Lucius Caesar, salute the new god. As A. Fraschetti points out in the most serious challenge to Zanker's interpretation, there are obvious chronological problems if one takes this as realistically representing the moment of apotheosis: the young princes, born in 20 and 17 B.C.E., could not 'really' have witnessed the apotheosis of Caesar. Fraschetti argues that the figure in the chariot is instead Agrippa, Gaius and Lucius' biological father, and the woman with them is their mother Julia.[91] However, by 7 B.C.E., the earliest possible date for this altar, Agrippa was seven years dead, and his sons had long since been adopted and publicly displayed as the sons of Augustus. If the cult of the *Lares Augusti* was understood to be largely about generational continuity and its relation to the stability of the state, the representation in a single panel of Caesar, Augustus, Gaius and Lucius, and the foremother of them all, Venus, would have spoken loud and clear to a contemporary viewer; Agrippa would only have presented interference to the message.

The very presence of Gaius and Lucius on this altar is one more confirmation that this cult was associated with the generational continuity of the house of Augustus. One of the two is depicted on another altar of the *lares* dating to 2 B.C.E.[92] A fragmentary inscription from the Campanian town of Acerra provides further epigraphic evidence of the association of the princes with the *Lares Augusti* and may suggest an actual cultic identification between the two. In Mommsen's reconstruction, the inscription offers a prayer for the continued prosperity of the *Lares Augusti*, "so that the parent might

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[91] "La mort d'Agrippa et l'autel du Belvedere: un certain type d'hommage," *MEFRA* 92 (1980): 957–76, 968, cautiously accepted by Hano ("À l'origine," 2375–77). To my mind, however, the altar's overwhelming emphasis on the Julian house (a laurel tree appears to the right of the apotheosis scene; Aeneas appears on another side, the *clupeus virtutis* with its inscription to Augustus, a Victory, and laurel boughs on another; etc.) and Zanker's argument based on the relative size of figures that the female figure in the apotheosis scene must be Venus Genetrix argue against a *divus* Agrippa here.

[92] The altar of the *Vicus Sandularius* depicts one of the princes (likely Lucius, based on his apparent age) with Augustus and a female figure variously interpreted as Livia, Julia, Venus, or even Iuventas. See Zanker, "Larenaltar," 209; Hano, "L'origine du culte," 2338–39; Schäfer, "Die Ikonographie des *Genius Augusti*," 80–81.

rejoice in the rule of his offspring" [*stirpis suae laetetur u[t regno] parens*]; the prayer continues, addressing "Caesar" and asking that when he is called to his seat in the sky, "it might be these who take command in this world by your choice and who rule us in accordance with their propitious wishes" [*sint hei, tua quei sorte t[errae]huic imperent regantque nos felicibus voteis suis*]. Mommsen has interpreted this inscription as indicating the erection of a temple to the *Lares Augusti* as embodiments of Gaius and Lucius.[93] The association of these two young princes, who, as we saw in Chapter 1, were the official representatives of 'youth' in the Augustan house, with the *Lares Augusti* in this prayer for a continuation of Augustus' dynasty, suggests once again that the grouping of the *Lares* with the *Genius Augusti* represents the complementarity and continuity in succession of the older and younger generations.[94]

Ovid's importation of the cult of the *Lares Augusti* into a calendrical context which he sees as engaged in the negotiation of the relation between past and present and particularly between Caesar and his heir begins, then, to take on more weight. The *Lares Augusti* in a sense 'belong' to the discourse begun by the proems, and particularly to the meaning of the month-pair inscribed in the *maiores/iuniores* etymologies. By bringing the *Lares Augusti* into poetic contact with the *Lares Praestites*, Ovid poetically stages historical discontinuity in a cult whose meaning in his time emphasized generational continuity and stability. Lurking behind the new cult is a sense of a rupture with the past, for better or worse. In the old days the 'protectors' of the city were not necessarily 'Augusti', but they also were not doing their job; Augustan ideology (and the cult of the *Lares Augusti* and *Genius Augusti*) corrects the problem by emphasizing

[93] *CIL* 10, 3757, with Mommsen's interpretation ad loc. The inscription uses the word *heroes*, which Dionysius of Halicarnassus (4.14.3) uses to translate *lares*. The late (6th c.?) bi-lingual *Cyrilli glossarium* also equates the two (*s.v.* "Lares"). Fraschetti ("La mort d'Agrippa", 969) assumes, I think incorrectly, that Gaius and Lucius were dead at the time of this inscription. While the identification of living men with gods (or even *heroes*) is unusual, many such irregularities occur in the early years of the imperial cult. The rest of the inscription requires that the two still be living to become heirs of Augustus.

[94] A. Alföldi's identification of the young boys carrying the *lares* and *genius* in a number of Julio-Claudian reliefs as the young imperial princes confirms the later association of the youth of the imperial household with the cult of the *Lares Augusti* (*Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus* [Bonn: Habelt, 1973], 25–30).

the complementarity of generations, the guidance and tempering of youth by age, the protection and support of age by youth, and the connection of all of this to the Augustan house. The most recent study of the iconography of the *lares* altars has argued that the recurring presence of the *clipeus virtutum*, trophies, laurels and Victories on the altars signal the link between military virtue, the peace and prosperity it provides, and the generational continuity of Augustus' family.[95] The altars, then, show the quasi-military function Ovid attributes to the young *Lares Praestites* taken over and rendered stable by the new *lares/genius* grouping. Caesar, who makes his appearance on the Belvedere altar clad in armor as he rides towards heaven,[96] clearly plays an important role in this emphasis on the imperial family's military *virtus*. But Caesar's military career could, of course, be problematic: though his success as a general was undeniable, his aims were not always protective of the Roman state. If Caesar is the embodiment of military prowess passed on to his living heirs, he is also the embodiment of the chaos of the civil wars. Augustus paradoxically both rejects his father's model and emphasizes it in the interest of generational continuity and stability; Ovid's staging of a replacement of the *Lares Praestites* by the new Augustan cult plays out this ideological tension.

Aiming at kingship

Caesar's military career presented both a challenge and a bolster to the Augustan ideology that linked Rome's martial success and her peaceful prosperity to the continuity in power of the Julio-Claudian family. The closing years of Caesar's civil career offered Augustus a similarly paradoxical model, both serving as an extension of Julio-Claudian political authority back a generation and functioning as a foil to Augustus' careful configuration of that authority. While the reality of Caesar's ambition to make himself king of Rome is open to debate, it is quite clear that a significant portion of the Roman public regarded Caesar's position in the last years of his life as

[95] Hano's "L'origine du culte," 2374–75.

[96] This detail is difficult to make out in any of the reproductions I have seen, and the reliefs have continued to deteriorate, but Zanker in 1969 called it "noch erkennbaren" ("Larenaltar," 206 and n. 5).

uncomfortably close to that of a monarch. Even if, as some scholars have suggested, the rumors and stories concerning his aspirations to kingship constituted a campaign to justify his murder ex post facto, they were certainly part of common knowledge concerning the dictator by the time of the *Fasti*'s composition.[97] The most serious marker of Caesar's quasi-regal position, the perpetual nature of his status as *dictator*, was carefully avoided by Augustus through his refusal of both the dictatorship and perpetual tenure as consul, an avoidance duly advertised in *Res Gestae* 5. The question was clearly current enough in the last decades of Augustus' life that it was worth making the point yet again that he refused positions analogous to Caesar's.

Book 6 of the *Fasti* in three separate instances takes up the question of the *crimen regni* or *adfectatio regni*—aiming at kingship: 6.183–90, 589–96 and 643–44. While Caesar is nowhere mentioned in these passages, the memory of his regal pretensions would have been vividly evoked for Ovid's readers by the name of the charge. A. Erskine has argued that the Roman antipathy towards kings and kingship, which Cicero and Livy explicitly derive from the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus,[98] in fact emerges only in the second century as a consequence of contact with Hellenistic kings; more importantly for our present purposes, he demonstrates that the charge of aiming at *regnum* was given real polemic vitality only with the dictatorship and assassination of Caesar.[99] This period shows the first clear evidence of a canonical triad of historical legends concerning the lives and punishments of Republican *adfectatores regni*: the *crimina regni* of Sp. Cassius in 485, Sp. Maelius in 439 and M. Manlius Capitolinus in 384 show undeniable structural similarities in their

[97] The scholarship on the topic is voluminous, but a few key studies are Carson, "Caesar and the Monarchy;" Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 270–81; Rawson, "Caesar's Heritage;" Z. Yavetz, *Julius Caesar and his Public Image* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 185–213. P. M. Martin, *L'idée de royauté à Rome: haine de la royauté et séductions monarchiques II. Du IVe siècle av. j.c. au principat augustéen* (Clermont-Ferrand: Adosa, 1994), 363–86, gives a good summary of the state of the question including recent bibliography.

[98] Cic. *De Rep.* 2.52; Liv. 1.46.3, 2.1.9, 2.2.5.

[99] A. Erskine, "Hellenistic Monarchy and Roman Political Invective," *CQ* 41 (1991): 106–20, esp. 114 ff. Similar points are made by Rawson, "Caesar's Heritage." The argument is rejected with a minimum of counter-argument by Martin, *L'idée de royauté II*, 4–8.

narratives and share anachronisms that indicate their elaboration late (at the earliest, in the period of the Gracchi) and in relation to one another.[100] All three stories involve an elite figure recognized for his service to the state who becomes an ardent supporter (or demagogic courter) of the plebs; the patriciate or senate accuses him on shaky grounds of aspiring to the kingship and he is assassinated or executed; further post-mortem punishments follow, including the razing of his house. The variations and developments in the tradition show an effort to justify as tyrannicide senatorial violence against powerful *populares*.[101] The most recent work on the topic acknowledges traces of the political concerns of the Gracchan period in the tradition, but emphasizes that its full elaboration and canonization as a 'triptych' of narratives belongs to the period of Caesar and Augustus, and thus surely comes about under the influence of the career of Caesar.[102]

When Ovid evokes the *crimen regni*, then, he offers his reader an almost unavoidable invitation to think of the life and death of Caesar. Not surprisingly, however, for a man born the year after Caesar's death and writing more than forty years later, Ovid is concerned in each instance not so much with the charge itself, but with its memorialization or its obfuscation: how does the Julio-Claudian calendar 'remember' *crimina regni*? And, perhaps, how does it remember Caesar?

The first evocation of the *crimen regni* in the *Fasti* falls on the kalends of June, a calendrical placement which, as we saw in the previous

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[100] Major sources are, for Sp. Cassius: Liv. 2.41, D.H. 8.69–80; for Sp. Maelius: Liv. 4.13–15, D.H. 12, fr. 1, 2 and 4; for M. Manlius Capitolinus: Liv. 6.11, 14–20. Cicero is the first to explicitly name them in a triad: *Dom.* 101, *Phil.* 2.87 and 114, *Rep.* 2.49. On the structural patterning: P. M. Martin, *L'idée de royauté à Rome I. De la Rome royale au consensus republicain* (Clermont-Ferrand: Adosa, 1982), 340–44. On the elaboration of the tradition: A. W. Lintott, "The Tradition of Violence in the Annals of the Early Roman Republic," *Historia* 19 (1970): 12–29; and, all in *L'invention des grandes hommes de la Rome antique/Die Konstruktion der grossen Männer Altroms*, edd. M. Coudry and T. Späth (Paris: de Boccard, 2001): M. Chassignet, "La 'construction' des aspirants à la tyrannie: Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius et Manlius Capitolinus," 83–96; A. Vigourt, "L'intention criminelle et son châtiment: les condamnations des aspirants à la tyrannie," 271–87; "Les *adfectores* [*sic*] *regni* et les normes sociales," 333–40.

[101] See esp. Lintott, "Tradition of Violence"; Chassignet, "'Construction'".

[102] Chassignet, "'Construction';" Vigourt, "L'intention criminelle" and "Les *adfectores regni*;" P. Panitschek, "Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius als *exempla maiorum*," *Philologus* 133 (1989): 231–45.

section, lends it particular weight. It also concerns one of the canonical early Republican *adfectatores regni*, M. Manlius Capitolinus, and is thus doubly marked as paradigmatic for the theme. As with the *lares* on the kalends of May, Ovid is concerned here with a discontinuity:

> *Arce quoque in summa Iunoni templa Monetae*
> *ex voto memorant facta, Camille, tuo.*
> *ante domus Manli fuerat, qui Gallica quondam*
> *a Capitolino reppulit arma Iove.*
> *quam bene, di magni, pugna cecidisset in illa*
> *defensor solii, Iuppiter alte, tui!*
> *vixit, ut occideret damnatus crimine regni:*
> *hunc illi titulum longa senecta dabat.*

> [Also, the temple to Juno Moneta was built on the high citadel, they relate, in accordance with your vow, Camillus. Before, there stood in that place the house of Manlius, who once repelled Gallic arms from Capitoline Jove. How well, great gods, he might have fallen in that fight as defender of your throne, Jupiter of the heights! He lived, only to die convicted of aiming at kingship: this is the title long old age gave to him.]
>
> (6.183–90)

M. Manlius Capitolinus was a hero of the Gallic siege of the Capitoline, but in later years (largely out of jealousy of M. Furius Camillus, according to Livy) he turns to demagoguery and sedition. The tribunes of the plebs in consultation with the military tribunes decide to charge Manlius with the *crimen regni* in order to separate him from his plebeian supporters, for "nothing is less popular than kingship" [*nihil minus populare quam regnum*] (Liv. 6.19.7). After the site of the trial is moved from the Forum where the looming Capitoline reminds jurors of his glorious deeds in the city's defense, Manlius is convicted and executed by being flung from the Tarpeian rock; with a neat, if topographically forced, irony, "the same place was a monument to the outstanding glory and the final punishment of a single man" [*locusque idem in uno homine et eximiae gloriae monumentum et poenae ultimae fuit*] (Liv. 6.20.12). In addition, his house on the Capitoline was leveled, the people voted that thenceforth no patrician could live on that hill, and the *gens Manlia* decreed a ban on the *praenomen* Marcus. Ovid takes the excuse of the *dies natalis* of the temple of Juno Moneta, vowed by L. Furius Camillus in 345 and dedicated, apparently on the site of Manlius' house, on June 1, 344, to treat the memory of this first *adfectator regni*.

As M. Jaeger has demonstrated, Livy uses the figure of Manlius as a complement and counterpoint to the dictator M. Furius Camillus, who expelled the Gauls from the Capitol and persuaded the Romans to remain and rebuild the sacked city of Rome rather than removing to Veii.[103] Livy reports that Camillus was hailed during his triumph as *Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque alter urbis* ['Romulus' and 'father of the fatherland' and 'a second founder of the city'] (5.49.7) and both Caesar and Augustus at points in their careers seem to have advertised Camillus as a model for themselves.[104] Jaeger suggests that Livy's account of the intertwined lives of Camillus and Manlius "is linked to issues critical in the late Republic and early Augustan Age: how to define the role of the extraordinary man as he moves from military to civil life, how to commemorate his achievements, and how to limit his influence at home after the crisis that brought him to power has passed."[105] Though she is wisely circumspect about drawing strict equivalencies, Jaeger's conclusion confirms that she has Augustus in mind as the contemporary 'extraordinary man' on whose career Livy's narrative reflects.

Ovid's abbreviated treatment of Manlius' career and death engages with some of the same issues, but by leaving Camillus out of the picture[106] Ovid focuses his lens on the man who died convicted of the *crimen regnum* and on the ways he is remembered and forgotten and Caesar thus comes more clearly into the picture than he does in Jaeger's analysis of Livy. As a man whose conspicuous service to the state was followed by demonstrations of overwhelming personal ambition that led to his death and whose memory therefore presents problems, Manlius presents a powerful analog to Caesar, and Ovid had strong precedents for reading him as a 'type' of Caesar, Cicero evokes Manlius' life and death and the treatment of his memory

[103] M. Jaeger, *Livy's Written Rome* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 57–93. On Camillus and the Gallic siege, Liv. 5.19–55, with Manlius' defense of the Capitol at 5.47.1–9.

[104] On Caesar and Camillus: Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 71–79, 260–66. Augustus included Camillus among the *summi viri* in his forum. On Livy's Camillus as a historical 'type' and exemplum for Augustus: E. Burck, "Livius und Augustus," *ICS* 16 (1991): 271–81.

[105] Jaeger, *Written Rome*, 58.

[106] 'Camillus' *is* present in this passage, but the wrong one: Marcus' son Lucius vowed Juno's temple.

repeatedly in his *Philippics* as a comparandum for Caesar's, explicitly comparing Antony's abolishment of the dictatorship after Caesar's death to the ban Manlius' family placed on the use of the *praenomen* Marcus.[107]

Ovid pays particular attention to Manlius' punishment (the razing of his house and his execution) and his memorialization (the *titulus* he acquired by his conviction of *regnum*), and performs a paradoxical act of memory by recalling both the erased house and the erased heroism of Manlius. This paradox of memory in the larger tradition is the object of a recent study of the punishments meted out to the *adfectatores regni* which makes an important distinction between *damnatio memoriae,* whose goal is an actual erasure of the memory of a malefactor, and the punishment of Manlius and his fellows, whose purpose is oddly commemorative.[108] Livy makes the purpose explicit in the case of Sp. Maelius, whose house was razed after his conviction and execution for aiming at the kingship *ut monumento area esset oppressae nefariae spei* [so that the empty space might serve as a monument to the crushing of his intended crime] (4.16.1). Tradition connected the name of the place, *Aequimaelium*, to the leveling of Maelius' house.[109] In the cases where the house sites of the *adfectatores regni* were rebuilt, the new buildings were dedicated to deities closely associated with the condemned men. On the site of Cassius' house was erected a temple of Tellus, whose connections with Cassius have been demonstrated by O. De Cazanove.[110] Manlius' connection to Juno Moneta is better known: an etymo-/etiological legend reports that Juno's geese warned (*monere*) him of the Gauls' sneak assault on the hill. While the etymology is almost certainly wrong (the epithet *Moneta* seems rather to have to do with the location of a mint in the temple) and the chronology tricky (the temple was dedicated some forty years after Manlius' death), Romans of the late Republic and early Empire almost certainly read the temple as commemorating simultaneously Manlius' most glorious moment and his

[107] Cic. *Phil.* 13.32, 44.114, 34.87.

[108] Vigourt, "L'intention criminelle;" see also H. Flower, "Rethinking *Damnatio Memoriae*: The Case of C. Calpurnius Piso Pater in A.D. 20," *ClAnt* 17 (1998): 155–87.

[109] Liv. 4.16.1; cf. also Cic. *Dom.* 101, Varr. *L.L.* 5.157.

[110] "Spurius Cassius, Cérès et Tellus," *REL* 67 (1989): 93–116.

ignominious death and punishment.[111] The ideological power of the temple is precisely in the carefully orchestrated topographical cohesion of the two memories. While the other elements of Manlius' punishment might amount to *damnatio memoriae*, the interpretation of the temple of Juno Moneta as a monument to Manlius' protection of the Capitoline on the very site of the Capitoline house that was used for his seditious meetings commemorates and inextricably connects the two faces of Manlius: he was a great man, but he was also a dangerous one. Livy even emphasizes the necessity of making these two memories cohere, reporting that the Roman populace had recognized the danger of Manlius when he was before their eyes, but when he was removed, remembered only his service to them (Liv. 6.20.15). Ovid's emphasis on both Manlius' service and his *crimen regni* in the calendrical commemoration of the temple that erased all traces of his house plays out the odd unification of the memory of the hero and the villain built into the temple of Juno Moneta.

The evocation of Caesar through the figure of Manlius makes this paradox of memory a contemporary one. For Augustus, it was ideologically important that the public remember not just Caesar's service to the state, but his more dangerous aspect as well. The civil wars, both those instigated by Caesar and those that followed his death, play a perhaps surprisingly prominent role in Augustus' *Res Gestae*: the inscription begins its account of Augustus' career from his part in the latter wars (1–3.1) and near the conclusion, Augustus names his "extinguishing" of civil wars as the predicating circumstance of his return of the *res publica* to the SPQR in 27 B.C.E. Far from being a taboo topic, the civil wars and Augustus' direct involvement in them as the agent of Caesar's revenge (and, of course, the champion of the state) continue to be constructed as the underpinnings, the basis of the *princeps'* present position: without Augustus' vigilance, those civil wars could easily flare up again. As D. S. Potter has recently argued in relation to the *senatus consultum de C. Pisone patre* of 20 C.E., the specific virtues attributed to the *domus Augusta* in

[111] N. Horsfall, "From History to Legend: M. Manlius and the Geese," *CJ* 76 (1980): 289–311 lays out the numerous historical problems involved with the legend, and suggests that the names of the dictator (L. Furius Camillus) and the *magister equitum* (Cn. Manlius Capitolinus) who raised the temple to Juno Moneta might have been "both a powerful stimulus to the creation of a legend and a potent source of error" (310).

the late Augustan and Tiberian periods perform a similar function, "offer[ing] a reading of the history of the late Republic that is intended to show how the *domus* stands between the Roman state and the chaos of Cicero's generation."[112] Potter emphasizes the particular appropriateness of this display to the period of the succession of Tiberius, and again to the moment of crisis the plot of Piso presented, noting that the inscription specifically invokes both the threat of civil war and the personal barrier to such a prospect presented by the *numen* of Augustus and the *virtus* of his successor. Like these simultaneous exhibitions of and reassurances against the threat of civil war, Augustus' public display of his refusal of the dictatorship, his refusal to follow the same route toward *regnum* as Caesar, serves as a constant reminder of Caesar's dictatorship and of the civil wars that preceded and followed it and thereby underlines the difference of Augustus' *statio* and the stability it has brought. Ovid's reflections on how and why to remember a *crimen regnum* are distinctly of his time.

Despite its brevity, this section on the temple of Juno Moneta and the house of Manlius, like Book 5's treatment of the *lares*, clearly signals its connection to the issues raised in the proems of Books 5 and 6. Manlius' defense of the Capitoline and its divine inhabitant (*defensor solii, Iuppiter alte, tui* [defender of your throne, high Jupiter] [6.188]) before he himself makes an assault on the throne recalls the struggles over heavenly *maiestas* that played a central role in both proems. The ring of *hunc illi titulum longa senecta dabat* (6.190) should sound familiar from 5.70: *censuram longa senecta dabat*; as we saw, Ovid had already reused the *longa senecta* tag in his treatment of the *lares* (5.132). As in the *lares* passage, the phrase here brings into question the absolute value of old age: Manlius survived his heroic prime only to ruin his memory with an ill-conducted civil career.[113] Again, as in the *lares* passage, *longa senecta* suggests not just physical aging, but

[112] "Political Theory in the *Senatus Consultum Pisonianum*," *AJP* 120 (1999): 65–88, esp. 70–71, 78–80. Barchiesi has adduced this argument in regard to the *Fasti*'s treatment of Mars Ultor: "Martial Arts. Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum: A Verbal Monument with a Vengeance," in *Ovid's* Fasti*: Historical Readings at its Bimillenium*, ed. G. Herbert-Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1–22, esp. 1.

[113] The phrase is all the more striking considering the short interval of six years in Livy between Manlius' defense of the Capitoline in 390 and his execution in 384.

the passage of time: for the *Lares Praestites, longa senecta* brought about decay and oblivion; for Manlius, it brings about an established memory of his *crimen.*

The other two occurences of the *crimen regni* are tied to one another by a shared calendrical date and by an even closer engagement with the proems. On the anniversary of the June 11 dedication of the temple of Fortuna in the Forum Boarium, Ovid turns his aetiological focus to an archaic statue wrapped in a toga that stood in the temple. The poet positively identifies the covered statue as representing the temple's founder, Servius Tullius; his question is why the king's statue is covered (6.571–72). Ovid briefly suggests two possible reasons (Fortuna was ashamed of her love affair with a mortal and thus covered the statue; the Roman populace was so distressed by the sight of Servius' statue after his death that they had to cover it), then turns to a third, which needs "more space" (6.585). Ovid proceeds to tell the story of the murder of Servius by his daughter and son-in-law: when Tullia entered the temple after the murder, the statue of Servius Tullius covered its own eyes in order to avoid seeing the king's murderess (6.611–16).

The assault of Tullia and the young Tarquinius (soon to be Superbus) on the kingship of Servius Tullius will bring to power the paradigmatic bad *rex*, the tyrant whose rule the charge of aiming at *regnum* is meant to prevent.[114] Tullia's own words make clear the nature of the crime she and her husband undertake:

> *'quid iuvat esse pares, te nostrae caede sororis*
> *meque tui fratris, si pia vita placet?*
> *vivere debuerant et vir meus et tua coniunx,*
> *si nullum ausuri maius eramus opus.*
> *et caput et regnum facio dotale parentis.*
> *si vir es, i, dictas exige dotis opes.*
> *regia res scelus est: socero cape regna necato,*
> *et nostras patrio sanguine tingue manus.'*

['What good is it to be well-matched by your murder of my sister and my murder of your brother, if we're happy with a pious life? My husband and your wife should have stayed alive, if we weren't going to dare any greater undertaking. I make my father's head and his kingdom my dowry. If you're a man, go, claim the promised riches of

[114] On Tarquinius as the quintessential tyrant in the Roman tradition, Martin, *L'idée de royauté I*, 278–81.

your dowry. Crime is royal stuff: kill your father-in-law, seize the kingdom, and stain our hands with my father's blood.']

(6.589–96)

The audacity of this assault on the king links it to the gigantomachy of Polyhymnia's narrative on *Maiestas* in the proem (*ausuri* [6.592], *ausa* [6.611], *ausuros* [5.36]). It has other obvious ties to the proem of Book 5 as a violation of both the regal *maiestas* of Servius and the respect due to parents and to the old: Tarquinius' attack on his father-in-law is explicitly a defeat of old age (*infirma vincitur aetas* [6.599]). The section's relation to the proem of Book 6 is even richer: Tullia essentially revives the conflict of the proem and reverses any sense of *concordia* with which it ended.[115] From the first words of her speech (*'quid iuvat esse pares . . . ?'* [6.589]) Tullia rejects the poet's injunction to the proemic goddesses, *ite pares a me* [Go away from me as equals] (6.99). Tullia's question refers to the good match between her and her new husband, a match emphasized also by Livy (1.46.7) and Dionysius (*Rom. Ant.* 4.28–29). But in the context of the proems it must also refer to equality of power—"What good is it to be equal (to everyone else)?" In the pre-*Maiestas* universe in Book 5 "all honor was equal" (*par erat omnis honos* [5.18]), but for Tullia *maiestas* exists, and she wants it. Her solution to the troublesome situation of equality in which she finds herself uses the proems' thematic comparative adjective: she and her husband must attempt a *maius opus* (6.592).

Tullia also emerges as an echo of the most competitive of the proemic goddesses of Book 6, Juno. Like Juno, Tullia has a claim to royalty and honor both through her father and through her husband: more emphatically than Juno, she chooses to pursue it through her husband and at the expense of her father.[116] The comparison once again undoes the elision of the past performed by Juno: Juno covers up her husband's 'patricidal' rise to power; Tullia urges patricide on her husband. Remembering that Concordia's exemplum of familial harmony between Sabine fathers-in-law and Roman sons-in-

[115] Cf. Loehr, *Mehrfacherklärungen*, 351–53.

[116] The passage also echoes Juno's most recent appearance in the poem in which she urges Latin Bacchantes to attack Ino, her rival Semele's sister; cf. R. J. Littlewood, "An Ovidian Diptych: Fasti 6.473–648 Servius Tullius, Augustus, and the cults of June 11th," *MD* 49 (2002): 191–211, 206.

law was the stimulus for the détente between Juno and Juventas at the end of the proem (*binaque cum populis regna coisse suis,/et lare communi soceros generosque receptos* [6.94–95]), Tullia's command that her husband kill his *socer* and seize his *regna* (6.595, cf. also 6.600) stands as direct negation of this model of generational concord. This violation of concord is even more emphatically signaled by Ovid's characterization of the murdered Servius as a *placidus dux* (6.582); the same tag had been used in the proem to mark Concordia as Augustan: *placidi numen opusque ducis* (6.92).[117] An attack on Servius is an attack on *placidi duces* and the goddess associated with them.

If this shared title marks Servius as a model for Augustus, he is an interesting one, and Livy is again here a crucial intertext. With Tullia's taunt to her husband, *si vir es*, Ovid evokes the Livian Tanaquil's urging of Servius himself to take the throne after the assassination of Tarquinius Priscus: *'Tuum est,' inquit, 'Servi, si vir es, regnum, non eorum qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere'* [She said, 'The kingdom is yours, Servius, if you're a man; it doesn't belong to those who committed this terrible crime through the hands of others'] (Liv. 1.41.3). Although Livy constructs a clear contrast between Servius' benign rule and the second Tarquin's despotism, he nonetheless also marks the moral ambiguity of Servius' rise to power: Livy describes in some detail the grounds on which the sons of Ancus Martius resented the favor shown to Servius by Tarquinius Priscus, but more important is Livy's own judgement on the legitimacy of Servius' reign in the early days: *Servius praesidio firmo munitus, primus iniussu populi, voluntate patrum regnavit* [Protected by a strong guard, Servius was the first to reign not by the election of the people but by the acquiescence of the senate] (Liv. 1.41.6). Servius' eventual referral to the people of the question of his kingship is motivated by rumors about the legitimacy of his rule (1.46.1), and is read by the younger Tarquinius and by the senate as demagoguery (1.46.2). As Ogilvie observed, despite the contrast in policy between Servius and his tyrannical successor, Livy has constructed this narrative as a tragedy without heroes: "L. Tarquinius is a less scrupulous Orestes, Tullia a less noble Electra, and so Servius Tullius has to be Aegisthus,

[117] And also of Numa in the same book: 6.259, where Vesta is the *regis opus placidi*. Cf. Newlands, "Connecting the Disconnected," 194–95, and Littlewood, "Diptych." Both depend heavily on Flory, "*Sic exempla parantur*."

the intruder."[118] Ovid's connection of Tarquinius Superbus to Servius at the moment of the younger man's *adfectatio regni* serves as a nod to this ambiguous Livian tradition—but for careful image management, Servius could be historically tarred with the same brush as Tarquinius.

This question of how memory and image are managed comes more explicitly to the fore in the close of the aetiological narrative. Ovid repeats the well-known coda to Servius' murder in which Tullia in her wagon runs over her father's body as it lies in the street thereafter named *vicus Sceleratus*, thereby indelibly marking the memory of her crime on the topography of Rome (6.601–10). The memory of her father is addressed in the next lines as Tullia enters the temple of Fortuna, described as the *monimenta* (6.611) of her father, a building that makes his memory. On the surface, however, Servius' concealment, rather than his commemoration, seems the point of the draped statue inside the temple. The *imago* raises a hand as a physical barrier between itself and Tullia, and asks that the barrier be made permanent: '*voltus abscondite nostros*' ['Hide my face'] (6.615). The statue is covered with a toga and Fortuna herself adds the following by way of injunction against its removal: '*ore revelato qua primum luce patebit/Servius, haec positi prima pudoris erit*' ['The day when Servius' face is first revealed will be the first day of modesty's surrender'] (6.619–20). Barchiesi has discussed the ambiguous function of what he terms the "veil" in this passage, relating it back to the questions of feminine modesty and sexual propriety raised by the first of Ovid's aetia for the covering (it conceals Fortuna's mortal lover), and to the actual cultic function of Fortuna as protector of Roman matrons: "no one can look at the statue that the veil has made unrecognizable without recognizing that that veil is there to cover up a scandal that has been cancelled out . . . the figure of Servius oscillates between the roles of arbiter of morality and representative of transgression, and the veil over the statue is at the same time the guarantee of future morality and the reminder of a past infraction."[119] But Ovid's final prayer for continued conceal-

[118] R. M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy Books 1–5* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 186. See also Martin, *L'idée de royauté I*, 275–77.

[119] *The Poet and the Prince*, 229. See also Littlewood, "Diptych," 211.

ment, *sitque caput semper Romano tectus amictu/qui rex in nostra septimus*[120] *urbe fuit* [Let the head of the man who was the seventh king in our city always be covered by a Roman wrap] (6.623–24), emphasizes the Romanness of the covering—this is no veil of sexual modesty, but a toga (cf. 6.580, 584), the symbol of the Roman man in his political role. Perhaps the "scandal" Barchiesi's analysis implies is likewise political. Servius' veil of popular acclaim and benign monarchy separates him from the obvious criminality of his daughter, but it conceals from the Romans something shameful: the good king was also a usurper.

While Ovid nowhere treats the issue as explicitly as Livy, he does make brief reference through one of the alternative aetia (6.581–84) to Servius' adoration by the plebs, a frequent marker of the demagogic *adfectator regni*. He also brings up Servius' controversial origins in a coda to the last aetion: when the temple of Fortuna burns, Vulcan protects the statue of his son; Servius was conceived when Tanaquil commanded a war captive, a noble woman from Corniculum, to sit down by a hearth where a phallus of flame had miraculously appeared (6.627–34). While Livy favors a version of the story that eschews the miraculous and ameliorates the problem of Servius' servile birth (Servius' mother was captured at Corniculum already pregnant, her husband, a *princeps* of the town, having been killed in the battle [Liv. 1.39.5–6]), he nonetheless makes the question of Servius' origins central to the complaints against his imminent rise to power. Ancus Martius' sons characterize the descent of Rome's kingship to Servius as disgrace and outrage (*dedecus, contumelia*); in particular, they draw a contrast between Rome's first king, "a god born from a god" [*Romulus, deo prognatus deus*], and Servius, "a slave born from a slave" [*servus serva natus*] (Liv. 1.40.3). Ovid's version actively plays with this controversy: Servius' mother is a captive from Corniculum, but decidedly a slave, submitting to Tanaquil's orders (6.630, 633), with nothing said of noble origins; his father, however, is clearly identified as Vulcan, so that he is both *serva natus* and *deo prognatus*.

This narrative also reinforces the association of Servius with Augustus suggested by the shared epithet *placidus dux*. At the conclusion of the the anecdote, Vulcan confirms that Servius is his son by causing a

[120] Bömer, ad loc. explains, "Ovid hat Titus Tatius mitgezählt."

tongue of flame to flicker around the boy's head: *signa dedit genitor tunc cum caput igne corusco/contigit, inque comis flammeus arsit apex* [His father gave a sign when he touched his head with flashing fire and a peak of flame burned in his hair] (6.635–36). The imagery departs far from Livy's terse *caput arsisse ferunt* [They say that his head burned] (1.39.1) and strongly invokes instead Vergil's use of variations on the *sidus Iulium*, the comet that appeared soon after Caesar's death and marked his apotheosis, to signify the destiny linking Augustus (*Aen.* 8.679–81), Aeneas (10.270–75), and, most vividly, Ascanius/Iulus (2.681–84, 693–98).[121] Ovid and Vergil's shared use of the word *apex* to describe these divine flames (*Fast.* 6.636, *Aen.* 2.683, 10.270) was striking enough to draw the attention of Vergil's fourth-century commentators (Serv. *A.* 2.683). The flame on Servius' head is given a specific function in Ovid: Vulcan uses it as a sign to mark Servius as his son. Read in conjunction with Livy, this mark of paternity also helps justify the position of power to which the slave-girl's son rises: *conceptus ab illa/Servius a caelo semina gentis habet* [Though conceived by her, the seed of Servius' family comes from heaven] (*Fast.* 6.633–34).

This carefully constructed genealogy for Servius and the connections with the Julian family underlined by the Vergilian intertext suggest an Augustan significance for this coda: as with Servius, Augustus' divine father lends authority to his position as *princeps*; but the parallel also serves to draw attention to the need to justify a somewhat questionable ascent to power. This occurence of the *crimen regni* thus not only brings to the fore the violent specter of Tullia's parricidal ambition, but also suggests the veiled assault on the kingship launched by a *placidus dux*, son of a god. Reading Servius as a model for Augustus raises the question of whether the contemporary *princeps'* rise to power was a similarly artfully concealed *crimen regni.*

These concerns about legitimacy of power, generational relations, and memory are reiterated in another key in Ovid's brief but decidely loaded treatment of the *aedes Concordiae* dedicated by Livia in the *porticus Liviae* on the Oppian hill; the Augustan *aedes* was dedicated on the same date as the Servian *aedes Fortunae.* After a brief two lines on Concordia, Ovid shifts his attention to the portico and the ideology implicit in it. As we discussed in Chapter 4, the *porticus Liviae*

[121] Littlewood, "Diptych," 208.

was dedicated in 7 B.C.E., in association with the German triumph of Tiberius. M. Flory has interpreted both the razing of the enormous house of Vedius Pollio on whose site the portico was built (6.639–42) and the marital emphasis given to this Concordia both by Ovid (6.638) and by its calendrical association with Mater Matuta and Fortuna as closely linked to the Augustan 'moral' legislation in its sumptuary and familial aspects.[122] Though this argument is on the whole convincing, it does not do much to explain Ovid's emphasis here on the portico, which seems to have been dedicated in January, and the house that was razed to build it.[123] Ovid's very odd treatment of the reasons for the destruction of Pollio's house needs attention here: *haec aequata solo est, nullo sub crimine regni,/ sed quia luxuria visa nocere sua* [It was leveled to the ground, not under a charge of aiming at the kingship, but because its luxury seemed to be harmful] (6.643–44). Ovid's denial that the *crimen regni* had a part in *this* razing of a house sends the reader back, of course, to the story of Marcus Manlius' punishment for aiming at the kingship. The line both rejects and evokes the model: it was not a case of *adfectatio regni*, but the need to say so suggests a resemblance. The use of the phrase in the context of Livia's *aedes Concordiae* has the effect of confirming both the relevance of Manlius' story to this section on the cults of June 11 and the incompatibility between the appearance of *regnum* given by private luxury and the ideal of Concordia.

The model of M. Manlius and his razed house suggests that the destruction of Vedius Pollio's house should be read as both erasing a violation of social order and commemorating it,[124] thus displaying the constant necessity of guarding against future violations. In this case, Augustus is the express agent of this construction of memory:

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[122] Flory, *"Sic exempla parantur"*.

[123] Dio 54.23.6, 55.8.2. Herbert-Brown argues that the site of Vedius Pollio's house and later the *Porticus Liviae* was perceived to be on or near the site of the palace of Servius Tullius (*Ovid and the* Fasti, 152–53), and thus suggests that the attention Ovid pays to the portico is due to a topographical connection between the Tullia narrative he has just told and the Augustan building. The topographical connection is far from secure, however: it appears in no source, depends on uncertain identifications of the streets involved (cf. Richardson, *Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. "vicus Sceleratus" and *LTUR*, s.v. "Clivus Orbius"), and ignores a distance of some 400 meters between any candidate for the *vicus Sceleratus* and the site of the *porticus Liviae*.

[124] We might also think of Servius' draped statue.

he himself had inherited Pollio's house before it was razed, so he (and his heir) lost personal wealth in the dedication of the space to public use: *sustinuit tantas operum subvertere moles/totque suas heres perdere Caesar opes:/sic agitur censura et sic exempla parantur* . . . [Caesar endured the demolition of such a mass of a building and his heir endured the loss of so much wealth: that's how a censorship is conducted and that's how examples are provided . . .] (6.646–47). As C. Newlands has recently argued, the didactic and moralizing tone of this passage replays the didacticism of Augustus' building project: "What emerges from Ovid's passage is a view of Augustus as an emperor who astutely uses the bequest to make a political statement about the imperial family's new morality. Public magnificence . . . replaced private ostentation."[125] In addition, however, Newlands draws on A. Wallace-Hadrill's discussion of the social meaning of luxury in the imperial period and on J. Bodel's work on the political significance of elite Roman houses[126] to argue that Pollio's domestic *luxuria* was not simply private. The construction of a large house in a prominent location advertised an elite man's political influence even in imperial times, and claimed a space over which he had personal control. Ovid's back-handed association of Vedius Pollio with the charge of aiming at kingship thus begins to make more sense: domestic ostentation in the Augustan period *could* serve as a claim to political power and as a challenge to the political order. Augustus' destruction of the house both quashes the potential violation of political concord implied in Pollio's *luxuria* and asserts his own control over the political landscape.

This is clearly one didactic message to be read in the new portico, but Ovid's evocation of the specter of the *crimen regni* suggests at least one other. The *princeps'* refusal to accept the *luxuria* he inherits from Pollio, his transformation of the monument to Pollio's ostentation and political power into a monument to his own family's public beneficence and morality might also be read as relevant to other potential 'inheritances': has Augustus likewise refused or rehabilitated Caesar's *regnum*, the claim to power his father passed on to him? Augustus' handling of the house of Pollio both displays the

[125] Newlands, "Contesting," 234.

[126] A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Pliny the Elder and Man's Unnatural History," *G&R* 37 (1990) 80–96; J. Bodel, "Monumental villas and villa monuments," *JRA* 10 (1997): 5–35; "Punishing Piso," *AJP* 120 (1999): 43–63.

possibility of inheritance and assures the public that the *princeps* has not inherited everything offered him.[127] This didactic message is likely all Ovid's own—it works only by means of the odd evocation of the *crimen regni* that connects this passage to his treatment of the temple of Juno Moneta built on the site of the razed house of Manlius Capitolinus. Ovid thus stages his reading of the *porticus Liviae* and the *aedes Concordiae* as in part governed by the passage on the kalends of the month.

These three evocations of the *crimen regni* in Book 6 all engage, then, with the question of how and why Romans are to remember past attempts at kingship, always with the figure of Caesar in the background. Ovid explores Augustus' evocation of the *crimen regni* and its suppression through one ideologically charged building project (the restoration of Juno Moneta's temple on the site of M. Manlius' house) and imports the idea of the *crimen regni* into another one (the construction of the *porticus Liviae* and its *aedes Concordiae* on the site of Vedius Pollio's house). In the narrative of Tullia's assault on the kingship and the toga-wrapped figure of Servius Tullius, Ovid focuses attention on the tenuous boundary between Tullia's (and her husband, Tarquinius') embodiment of illicit, tyrannical, violent *regnum* and the status of Servius Tullius, the *placidus dux*. If Caesar's pretensions to kingship were to be condemned, they were not to be forgotten: only by keeping them alive in memory was Augustus' carefully constructed constitutional position marked as not *regnum*. The figures of the draped statue of Servius Tullius and the rehabilitated inheritance from Pollio suggest the narrow divide separating Augustus (and indeed the Roman state) from the *crimen regni* and the disorder of the late Republic embodied in Caesar. Augustus' association with Caesar in his aspirations to *regnum* might be read as dangerous to the public image of the *princeps inter pares*, but that danger is precisely what makes his position secure.

The young avenger

Despite the numerous evocations that I have been arguing for, the only express mention of Julius Caesar in *Fasti* 5 and 6 comes on the

[127] Cf. Augustus' refusal of the (potentially) hereditary position of *pontifex maximus* until the current occupant of the post died (*R.G.* 10.2).

May 12 anniversary of the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum in 2 B.C.E. The *Fasti* is the most important literary source for both the Forum and the dedication of the temple; the interpretation of Ovid's treatment of both has undergone some significant developments in recent years, however. Ovid presents two *aetia* for the temple: the first is a vow made by Octavian at Philippi to avenge Caesar's murder, both for his own sake, and for the sake of Vesta, whose priest Caesar was (5.569–78; cf. also 3.705–10). Though the placement at Philippi dates the vow to 42 B.C.E., Ovid is its earliest source. Mars Ultor earned his name a second time (Ovid tells us) when Augustus brought about the return of the Parthian standards in 20 B.C.E. and thus 'avenged' the slaughter of Crassus at Carrhae in 53 B.C.E. and the loss of more standards by Antonius in 40 and 36 (5.579–94; cf. 6.465–68). In most modern studies, Ovid has been taken at his word, and the addition of the second *causa* for the temple has been seen as a means of separating this major new Augustan building from Caesar's murder and the civil wars, which were best forgotten. Augustus' desire to suppress this memory explained the long delay in fulfilling the vow—he waited until he had a better reason for dedicating the temple to conceal, or at least temper, the original one.[128]

More recently, G. Herbert-Brown has expanded upon an argument first adduced by Weinstock that Ovid's account of the order of *aetia* here is misleading and that the oath at Philippi was a myth invented well after the fact and promoted by some authorized source; revenge upon the Parthians was the original aetion.[129] According to Weinstock's theory, a temple to Mars Ultor was planned by Julius Caesar in expectation of the recovery of the Parthian standards and as a pendant to the temple of Venus Genetrix. Octavian, as Caesar's heir, had the obligation and the desire to finish both the temple and the *ultio* with which it was to be connected. The first references to Mars as Ultor appear on coins of 19–18 B.C.E. commemorating

[128] E.g., R. Syme, "The Crisis of 2 B.C.," *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte* 7 (1974): 3–34 = *Roman Papers*, vol. 2, ed. A. R. Birley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 912–36; M. Siebler, *Studien zum augusteischen Mars Ultor* (Munich: Editio Maris, 1988), 150–60; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 194–95; R. Riedl, *Mars Ultor in Ovids Fasten* (Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner, 1989), 40–74; Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 88; Barchiesi, "Mars Ultor," 15.

[129] Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 95–108; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 128–32.

Augustus' recovery of the standards through the diplomacy of Tiberius in 20 B.C.E.[130] It would seem, however, that this bloodless victory was unsatisfactory to the Roman public and an insufficient accomplishment of revenge: the temple remained unfinished. In 2 B.C.E., Augustus charged his eighteen-year-old heir Gaius with new Parthian negotiations; the Forum Augustum and its temple were hurried to completion to send off the new *ultor*.[131] The temple, then, from its earliest planning through to its dedication in 2 B.C.E., shows no clear sign of connection with an *ultio paterna* vowed by Octavian at Philippi.[132]

Weinstock's attention when he advanced this theory in *Divus Julius* was turned, of course, to Caesar, and he offers no hypothesis as to when or why the vow at Philippi was invented. Herbert-Brown suggests that it was invented as late as 4 C.E., after the death of Gaius robbed Augustus yet again of a properly martial excuse for the temple, and links it to the posited rise in the popularity of the memory of Julius Caesar I discussed previously. While the argument put forth by Weinstock and advanced by Herbert-Brown is, on the whole, convincing, the idea that the temple could have been publicly dedicated with much pomp in 2 B.C.E., and the vow at Philippi only added as an afterthought six years later strains belief. The memory of the original dedication and the reason publicized at the time would have been too fresh in the minds of Romans in 4 C.E. for them to have accepted a new story invented out of whole cloth. If we are, in fact, dealing with an 'invented tradition,' the introduction of the new story must have been at least contemporaneous with the dedication of the temple.

Why was this new instance of *ultio* grafted onto the temple? On the one hand, a greater emphasis on Caesar was desirable in what

[130] H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage* v. 1 (London: Spink, 1923), 46 for a summary of the coin types commemorating this event and "Coins of Augustus" nos. 16, 98–100 and 281–88 in the catalog.

[131] On this point, Herbert-Brown depends heavily on G. Bowersock, "Augustus and the East: The Problem of the Succession," in *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, edd. F. Millar and E. Segal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 169–88. Bowersock emphasizes the element of display in Gaius' eastern tour: the five-year tribunician authority Augustus had granted to Tiberius when he went east on a similar mission had just expired; Gaius' expedition advertised Augustus' change in his choice of heir.

[132] Siebler, *Mars Ultor*, 140–50 provides a thorough examination of Weinstock's argument, accepting it in most points, but leaving open the possibility of the historical reality of a vow to Mars Ultor at Philippi on the grounds of the battle's close association with the idea of vengeance.

had quite clearly become a dynastic monument (see above, Ch. 1). In addition, as I have been suggesting, evocations of the civil wars in this period approaching the succession may serve as warnings against the possibility of a return to disorder. The dynastic troubles brewing in 2 B.C.E. would have made this sort of advertisment of the dangerous consequences of any disruption of the Augustan *statio* crucial in the year of the dedication of the Forum Augustum and its temple.[133] One further element of Ovid's treatment, however, seems to lend a particular cogency to the story of Octavian's vow at Philippi; Ovid lays a great deal of emphasis on Octavian's youth when he undertook his campaign of vengeance: *voverat hoc iuvenis tum cum pia sustulit arma:/a tantis princeps incipiendus erat* [He had made this vow as a young man, when he took up pious arms: from such great things the *princeps* had to make his start] (5.569–70). Ovid's emphasis here on the youth of Octavian, and on the vow and campaign that followed as the formative acts of the future *princeps*[134] suggest that the invention of the vow of *ultio* at Philippi linked the temple's dedication even more clearly to the special circumstances of the Parthian expedition in prospect in 2 B.C.E.: Gaius, at the age of eighteen, was about to take charge of a major military expedition. Dio's account of these events emphasizes Augustus' distress and reluctance to charge Gaius with this responsibility and records that he did so only under the compulsion of necessity: ἀνάγκης δ' ἐπικειμένης τὸν Γαίον εἵλετο (Dio 55.10.18). It is nonetheless quite clear from Dio's own evidence that Gaius had been groomed for some years for a very early entrance into public life: he had assumed the *toga virilis* in 5 B.C.E. at the young age of fourteen and had at that time entered the senate, been proclaimed *princeps iuventutis*, and been given a low-level military command (Dio 55.9.9). In Dio's account, once Augustus appointed Gaius to take care of the Parthian revolt in 1 B.C.E., he immediately boosted his adoptive son's credibility by conferring upon him proconsular power (and a wife), but these honors may in fact have predated Gaius' departure for the east the year before.[135]

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[133] Eloquently laid out by Syme, "Crisis of 2 B.C."

[134] Cf. the similar emphasis on Octavian's youth in *Fast.* 3.709–10, where the verb *ulcisci* provides almost a cross reference to this passage; see also Aug. *R.G.* 2 and *ultus* there.

[135] Cf. Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the* Fasti, 104–6.

In Dio, the Senate's election of Gaius to the consulate in 6 B.C.E. is the precursor to all of these honors. The vote reportedly displeased Augustus and "he prayed that no necessity of circumstances [καιρῶν ἀνάγκην] such as had once befallen him should arise, so that someone younger than twenty should be consul" (Dio 55.9.2); Gaius was eventually instead designated consul for the year 1 C.E. (when he would be twenty years old). Despite his interpretation of Augustus' motivations, the fact that Dio reports that Augustus was compelled by necessity (again ἀνάγκη) when he appointed Gaius to the Parthian campaign suggests that Dio's source saw Augustus as putting forth his own early entrance into Roman affairs as a model for Gaius'. We should perhaps see the invention of the vow at Philippi in this light.

The *Fasti*'s emphasis on Octavian's youth when he undertook his role as *ultor* thus reads as more pointed than it might at first have seemed. Comparison of Ovid's picture here of Octavian as young avenger with his earlier treatment of Gaius' prospective Parthian expedition in the *Ars Amatoria*, composed in 2 B.C.E., further supports the possibility that Octavian's vow at Philippi was invented for this occasion. In a passage crucial to reconstructing the connection between Gaius' expedition and the dedication of the Forum Augustum and the Temple of Mars Ultor, Ovid mentions the opportunities for erotic cruising offered by the naval battle staged at the dedication of the temple and forum, then turns the reader's attention to the planned Parthian expedition (*Ars* 1.177–80) and finally to the youth of the commander:

> *Ultor adest, primisque ducem profitetur in annis,*
> *bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer.*
> *Parcite natales timidi numerare deorum:*
> *Caesaribus virtus contigit ante diem.*
>
> [An avenger is at hand, and in his early years he shows himself a general, and a boy handles wars that shouldn't be waged by a boy. Refrain from timidly counting the birthdays of gods: military prowess (manhood?) comes to the Caesars ahead of schedule.]
>
> (*Ars* 1.181–84)

The extraordinary nature of Gaius' command and the anxiety surrounding it are aptly expressed here, and I would argue, so is Augustus' answer to it, if in a rather flippant tone: "I had to conduct a war of vengeance at an early age—my son and heir will be able to do the same; we Caesars are like that." The invention and

promotion of the vow at Philippi by the 'young avenger' would thus be integrally connected to the *ultio* against the Parthians touted at the temple's dedication in 2 B.C.E. Ovid's tag in the *Fasti, a tantis princeps incipiendus erat,* now looks as much prescriptive for Gaius and other young *principes* as descriptive of Octavian.[136]

This reinterpretation of the historical order of the aetia Ovid presents effectively wipes away the picture of a politically inconvenient vow of *ultio paterna* covered over or moderated by a new external vengeance against the Parthians. We are left to face Augustus' intentional evocation in 2 B.C.E. of Caesar's murder and his own role in the war against the conspirators in express connection to his dynastic display in the Forum Augustum and in the person of his heir-designate Gaius. This new aetion makes a point of claiming legitimacy for the Augustan principate and its dynastic continuation based on the memory of Caesar the man, his murder, and the civil war that followed it. If Ovid is concerned in these books of the *Fasti* in part with the relation between Caesar and Augustus, with generational continuity, and with the construction of the memory of the late-Republican past, this cult, this day, must play a central role in that discussion. While the panegyrical tone of his treatment of the day and of the Forum Augustum is undeniable[137] and gives very little away concerning the invented nature of the Caesarian aetion, two other narratives in Book 5 act as pendants to this passage in their focus on pious 'young avengers' and on the construction or failure of memory.[138]

[136] The *Fasti* passage never mentions Gaius, of course, who died four years before Ovid's exile. It nonetheless engages with the ideology surrounding the temple at the celebration of its dedication, to which the *Ars Amatoria* passage suggests Ovid was an eyewitness. Once the myth of the vow took hold, it was clearly easy to integrate into the dynastic iconography of the temple and forum. A hundred years later Suetonius reports only the vow at Philippi as aetion for the temple: *Aug.* 29.2.

[137] But, as Barchiesi, "Mars Ultor," emphasizes, this is only one possible reading, its particularity both marked and obscured by the use of Mars himself, a decidedly interested party, as a focalizer (8). For examples of this 'orthodox' reading of the passage see Anderson, *Historical Topography*, 66–68; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 194–95; Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 96–102 (though with an awareness that "Mars' focus is highly selective and is conditioned by his role as god of war" [101]).

[138] Other intratextual readings of the Mars Ultor passage include: Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 87–123; Loehr, *Mehrfacherklärungen*, 280–86; Boyd, "*Celabitur auctor*," 92–94; Gee, "*Vaga Signa*;" Barchiesi, "Mars Ultor," 13–14. The last two also offer significant intertextual readings, connecting the passage to Vergil's *Georgics* and *Aeneid* respectively.

Ovid's treatment of the first day of the Lemuria on May 9 has been seen by several critics as closely linked to the passage on Mars Ultor. Ovid narrates an aetion of his own invention for the rite by which the *lemures*, potentially malevolent ancestral ghosts, are yearly pacified. The story goes that Remus, after his murder and burial, appeared as a shade to his adoptive parents, Faustulus and Acca, complained about the state he had come to and the lack of punishment for his killer (here not Romulus, but his henchman Celer), and asked them to seek from Romulus a holiday in his honor; Romulus complied and named the Remuria for him; the first letter changed from 'r' to 'l' over the course of time, and thus the name of the present holiday (5.451–84). The largest portion of the narrative is a speech attributed to Remus' shade. While some critics have read Remus in this passage as praising his brother's piety, the evidence suggests otherwise. Remus sets up his own sorry state as a contrast to that of his 'other half':

> *'en ego dimidium vestri parsque altera voti,*
> *cernite sim qualis, qui modo qualis eram!*
> *qui modo, si volucres habuissem regna iubentes,*
> *in populo potui maximus esse meo,*
> *nunc sum elapsa rogi flammis et inanis imago:*
> *haec est ex illo forma relicta Remo.'*

> ['Here I am, the half and second part of your prayers: look what I am, and think what I was not long ago! I who, not long ago, if I'd had the birds that assigned the kingdom, could have been the greatest among my people, now I have slipped away in the flames of a pyre, and am an empty ghost: this is the form left from the Remus you knew.']
>
> (5.459–64)

But for those unlucky birds, Remus would be king (and alive) right now! He curses his killer with a bloody death, then turns to the reality: *'noluit hoc frater, pietas aequalis in illo est:/quod potuit, lacrimas in mea fata dedit'* ['My brother didn't want this, there is impartial *pietas* in him:[139] he gave what he could—tears for my fate'] (5.471–72). Remus

[139] For this translation of *aequalis*, see *OLD*, s.v. "aequalis", 7, but see also 5 and 6. This clause is more usually interpreted as meaning "His *pietas* matches mine"; see Frazer's Loeb, Nagle, and Boyle and Woodard, *ad loc.* I cannot understand what this would mean in the context—Remus has just complained that his brother's will does not match his own in this matter.

asks for revenge and gets only tears from a brother whose fraternal devotion fails to outweigh other concerns. Barchiesi has observed in the other major passage of the *Fasti* treating the death of Remus (4.835–56) a slightly disturbing even-temperedness on Romulus' part in the face of his brother's death and then a well-orchestrated display of tears.[140] Remus' complaint here points the same way—even if self-control is a virtue, revenge is both a human reaction to a brother's death and an obligation.[141]

Given the calendrical context, Remus' next words, '*heu ubi Mars pater est?*' ['Alas, where is Mars, my father?'] (5.465), surely mourn the absence of the god as another potential *ultor* for his murder, and thereby draw a contrast between Remus' unavenged death and the vengeance the god (and Octavian) accorded Caesar. Just as Romulus and Mars' neglect of Remus' *ultio* mark him as a foil to Caesar, another would-be-king who died at the hand of a citizen (5.467), the difference in the calendrical commemorations the two receive is striking. Caesar's name is attached to any number of calendrical commemorations of his life and, as we have just seen, his memory is at times even grafted onto occasions to which his connection is less clear. Remus specifically asks his brother (through their foster parents) '*ut celebrem nostro signet honore diem*' ['that he mark a day as festal in my honor'] (5.474). The result is less than fully satisfactory:

> *Romulus obsequitur, lucemque Remuria dicit*
> *illam, qua positis iusta feruntur avis.*
> *aspera mutata est in lenem tempore longo*
> *littera, quae toto nomine prima fuit.*
>
> [Romulus complies, and calls the day on which offerings are carried to buried ancestors *Remuria*. Over the course of time, the rough letter that was first in the name was changed to a soft one.]
> (5.479–82)

Romulus' response to his brother's modest request fails in more ways than one. First, it is not clear that Romulus makes a holiday dedicated to his brother memory—the first couplet here could as easily mean that he gave the name *Remuria* to an already established fes-

[140] Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 159–64.
[141] Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 119–20 reads Romulus' controlled reaction to his brother's death in contrast to the account of Achilles' grief at the death of Chiron which precedes it.

tival. Ovid has just described the rite that takes place on this day: Roman heads of households rise in the middle of the night and walk barefoot through the house, making an apotropaic gesture with their hands; they spit black beans from their mouths, being careful not to look behind them, and chant a formula that asks the *lemures* to take the beans rather than any members of the household; touching water and clashing cymbals, they chase the *manes paterni* out with another chant to finish the rite (5.429–44). On the whole, this is not a terribly generous remembrance of a dead brother: try not to look at him and chase him away until next year. It is, in fact, doubly ineffective as a memorial in that the name Romulus gives to the festival does not stick—it gradually shifts from *Remuria* to *Lemuria*, and nobody knows that Remus has anything to do with it.[142] In fact, not even the poet-narrator knows where the name *Lemuria* comes from and has to call in Mercury as an informant (5.445–46).

Ovid's idiosyncratic aetion for the Lemuria serves largely as a permutation of the treatment of memory in the new cult of Mars Ultor. Remus' request for vengeance remains unaccomplished; his calendrical memorial is ineffective. By attaching Remus to a day dedicated to laying troublesome ghosts, Romulus all but dictates that his fellow-citizens not look at the shade of his dead brother and at the civil conflict connected to Remus' death. Augustus, on the other hand, has attached the memory of Julius Caesar's murder to a cult dedicated to vengeance, to doggedly remembering past unpleasantness. If the vow at Philippi was attached to the cult of Mars Ultor at or near the time of the temple's dedication in 2 B.C.E., the intentionality of this memorialization of civil conflict would have been clear to Ovid. The calendrical placement of the dedication right in the middle of the Lemuria might have encouraged reflection on both Caesar and the many others who died in the civil wars as potential revenants. Ovid's reading of the calendrical connection uses the contrast between Romulus' strategy of erasure and Augustus' production of memory both to draw attention to the latter and to explore the political manipulation of national memory by means of the calendar.

Remus' speech finding fault with Romulus' *pietas* as a negligent *ultor* provides a sharp contrast to the young Octavian's exemplary *pietas* towards his father, emphasized in the introduction to the vow

[142] For a related reading, see Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 119–23.

at Philippi (5.569). We have one last exemplum in Book 5 of the *pietas* of a young avenger in the aetion of the astrological Gemini, the twins Castor and Pollux. Taking as a cue the entrance of the sun into the constellation Gemini on May 20, Ovid narrates the death of Castor in battle with the Oebalidae, Lynceus and Idas. Pollux's immediate response is vengeance: *ultor adest Pollux, et Lyncea perforat hasta* [Pollux is at hand as avenger, and he runs Lynceus through with his spear] (5.711). The phrase *ultor adest* clearly asks us to think about this passage in connection with Mars Ultor, but other elements ensure that the connection is mediated by the narrative of Romulus and Remus we have just examined. Besides the basic structural similarity between the narratives (one twin brother is killed, the other is charged with vengeance and/or memorialization), both Pollux and Remus appeal to their divine fathers (5.717, 465); both use the word *dimidium* (5.718, 459) to emphasize the division in two of the unified whole the twins once were.[143] But the end result is radically different. While Remus complains of the contrast between his fate and that of his brother and describes himself as an *inanis imago*, Pollux volunteers to share his promised divinity with his brother (5.716–18).

Pollux's appeal to Jupiter (*'mea . . . percipe verba pater:/quod mihi das uni caelum partire duobus;/dimidium toto munere maius erit'* ['Pay attention to my words, father: split for two the heaven which you give to one, me; half the gift will be greater than the whole'] [5.716–18]) calls to mind another such deal made with the god; in the *concilium deorum* of Ennius' *Annales*, Jupiter compensates Mars for the death of Remus by promising deification for Romulus: *'Unus erit quem tu tolles in caerula caeli/templa'* ['There will be one whom you will raise to the blue regions of heaven'] (*Ann.* fr. 95 Sk). Remarkably, this hexameter is quoted twice in Ovid, once at *Metamorphoses* 14.814, and again at *Fasti* 2.487, both in the voice of Mars reminding Jupiter of the promise he had made.[144] Barchiesi notes that in the *Fasti* Mars

[143] Cf. Loehr, *Mehrfacherklärungen*, 289–90; Boyd, "*Celabitur auctor*," 88–89. Both narratives are placed in the mouth of Mercury, figured as the patron of lying merchants in 5.671–92, on which see Boyd (above), and Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, 121.

[144] Conte, *Rhetoric of Imitation*, 57–59; see also S. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 14–15. The phrase *mea percipe verba* may serve to 'signpost' the allusion as such; cf. Mars' introduction of his quotation of Jupiter/Ennius at *Met.* 14.813: *nam memoro memorique animo pia verba notavi.*

rather callously accepts the loss of one son in bargaining for the divinity of the other (2.485–86): "evidently the model of Castor and Pollux, loving brothers who were deified as a pair, is not considered relevant."[145] If Mars did not find it relevant, Ovid clearly did. He endows Pollux with inter- or intratextual knowledge of the deal offered to the other twins in this situation, and Pollux negotiates its revision.

In this set of passages, then, and in the calendrical interaction between the Lemuria and the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor, accomplishment of vengeance, the presence of a proper *ultor*, is aligned with memorialization and indeed with immortalization. While Remus is transformed into a nameless *lemur*, Castor and Julius are avenged, remembered, catasterized and deified. For Pollux, there is no question about his brother's *ultio* and immortalization: the Dioscuri are, as always, the embodiment of filial Concordia. For Romulus, the taint of fratricide or at least civil conflict renders Remus' death best forgotten. The case of Mars Ultor might seem to occupy a middle ground between these two, both textually and politically: for Augustus the memory of Caesar carries the taint of civil conflict, but a display of generational continuity was useful to him; he simply took the bad with the good. The apparent invention of the vow at Philippi complicates this picture, however: Augustus was as much in control of this construction of memory as Ovid's Romulus and Pollux are in remembering or forgetting their twins. To make the choice of emphasizing Caesar's *ultio* at so late a date was to ensure that the memory of the conflict and bloodshed associated with him remained alive, or indeed was brought back to life. It clearly served a purpose for Augustus in his later years.

Resurrecting the dead

Remus' plaintive call for an *ultor, 'heu ubi Mars pater est?'*, might also be read as his lament that his father has not saved him from the oblivion of death and made him a god like his brother. While the narrative chronology does not allow Remus to know Romulus will be deified, the *Fasti*'s textual ordering of events does: Mars' deal with

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[145] *The Poet and the Prince*, 115.

Jupiter and his neglect of the murdered twin has already occurred in Book 2.[146] Pollux too knows that his *pater* grants him deification and turns to him to ask to share the prize with his dead brother. The question of a dead man becoming a god arises once more in the last narrative section and the last star-myth of the poem, which treats Aesculapius' revivification and apotheosis and his catasterism as Anguitenens or Ophiuchus as well as Hippolytus' revivification and apotheosis as Virbius.

This narrative has received some attention because of its overlap with the final book of the *Metamorphoses*.[147] There, the story of Hipploytus/Virbius is told at greater length (15.497–546) and the narrative of Aesculapius' advent to Rome (15.622–744) is the last before Ovid arrives at contemporary history. Ovid's transition to this last section of the epic links Aesculapius, the healing hero turned god, to another deified man, Julius Caesar: *Hic tamen accessit delubris advena nostris:/Caesar in urbe sua deus est* [Nevertheless, he entered our temples as an immigrant: Caesar is a god in his own city] (*Met.* 15.745–46). Ovid's introduction of Aesculapius at a similar point in the *Fasti* is certainly not coincidental: his treatment of star myths is always at his own discretion and he had available a number of other possible identifications for the constellation at hand.[148] As Newlands has observed, Ovid also follows up this section with a mention of 'Caesar' in the next day's entry (6.763), but it is a false lead—this Caesar is not Julius, but a living descendant, Augustus or more likely Germanicus, whom Ovid warns against marching out on the anniversary of the disaster at Trasimene. Newlands uses this passage to argue that "in contrast to the end of the *Metamorphoses*, the imperial ruler here is seen as mortal and distinctly fallible."[149] The entire myth concerning Hippolytus and Aesculapius has likewise emphasized mortality, but also its reversal and the ethical dimensions of both.

The passage begins with an astronomical notice that is also a notice of resurrection: *surgit humo iuvenis telis adflatus avitis,/et gemino*

[146] Cf. Barchiesi's chart of the events of the life of Romulus in the *Fasti* (*The Poet and the Prince*, 154).

[147] Barchiesi, "Endgames"; cf. also Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 203–4.

[148] Hyginus *Astr.* 2.14 offers five possibilities, including Aesculapius, Hercules, and three figures associated with myths of Ceres. Eratosthenes *Cat.* 6 gives the Aesculapius version; cf. Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 192–93.

[149] *Playing with Time*, 203–4.

nexas porrigit angue manus [The young man blasted by his grandfather's weapons rises from the ground and he stretches out hands entwined with twin snakes] (6.735–36). The identification of the *iuvenis* and the aetion for the constellation begins in the next line with the evocation of a story "well-known" (*notus . . . nota* . . . [6.737]) from Euripides' *Hippolytus*: Phaedra, the wife of Theseus, conceived a passion for her stepson Hippolytus; rebuffed by him, she killed herself and left a note falsely accusing the young man of rape; Theseus believed the note, banished his son, and called down a curse on him through his father, Poseidon; as Hippolytus (identified as a "pious young man" [*pius iuvenis*] [6.739] at this point) prepares to leave from the beach at Troezen, a monstrous bull, sent by Poseidon, rises from the sea and spooks the horses; they bolt, throwing Hippolytus from the chariot and dragging him to death (6.737–44). Though Ovid's version is abbreviated, all its details match with Euripides' to this point. We then hear of Diana's outrage at the death of her devotee and Aesculapius' revival of the young man (again, a *pio iuveni* [6.747]) using a drug another healer had once seen one snake give to another[150]—thus (though not explicitly so), the snakes of the constellation *Anguitenens*. When Hippolytus raises his head from the ground (*depositum terra sustulit ille caput* [6.754]), we have then, surely, our *iuvenis telis adlflatus avitis* who "rose from the ground" at the start of the passage.

But *telis* is a rather strange word for the bull who was the instrument of Hippolytus' death, nor is *adflatus* at all the right verb for being dragged to death. Hippolytus in fact serves as a double for another *iuvenis*: the young man whose catasterism Ovid is narrating is actually the hero-healer who revives Hippolytus. Ovid describes the divine reaction to Hippolytus' resurrection at the hand of Aesculapius:

at Clymenus Clothoque dolent, haec fila teneri,
hic fieri regni iura minora sui.
Iuppiter, exemplum veritus, derexit in ipsum
fulmina qui nimiae moverat artis opem.
Phoebe, querebaris: deus est, placare parenti:
propter te, fieri quod vetat, ipse facit.

[150] See Bömer ad loc. for the nexus of traditions Ovid draws on here.

> [But Clymenus and Clotho are grieved: she, that the threads of life are retained; he, that the rights of his kingdom are reduced. Jupiter, fearing that an example was being set, directed his thunderbolts at the one who had brought aid with skill too great. Phoebus, you kept complaining: now he's a god, be reconciled with your father: because of you, he himself did what he forbids to be done.]
>
> (6.757–62)

Hippolytus and Aesculapius are both young men, both struck down by their grandfathers as a punishment (whether justly or unjustly),[151] both returned to life, and both deified. The doubling of the two also asks us, however, to pay attention to the differences between them. Hippolytus is repeatedly marked as innocent of wrongdoing: he is twice called *pius* in less than ten lines; his father is inappropriately *credulus* (6.738) of Phaedra's accusations. The phrase *non impune pius* [pious, but punished for it] in 6.739 makes reference to the Euripidean tradition in which Hippolytus' excessive devotion to Artemis and his neglect of Aphrodite are at the root of his troubles; here, however, with Aphrodite nowhere in evidence, it also emphasizes the injustice of Hippolytus' punishment. Aesculapius, on the other hand, is quite aware that he is overstepping boundaries: '*cedent arti tristia fata meae*' ['The sad Fates will yield to my skill'], he boasts (6.748). When the Fates and the underworld gods justifiably complain about *regnum* impinged upon, Jupiter takes action to prevent the preservation of a bad *exemplum* (6.758–60).

It is the intervention of Aesculapius' father (think back to Remus' '*heu ubi Mars pater est?*' and Pollux's '*mea . . . percipe verba, pater*') that allows him a second chance at life, and indeed a place in the heavens. Hippolytus' father, besides having been the cause of his death to begin with, is not so well placed as Apollo. Hippolytus is fortunate to have Diana as a protectress, but the result of her intervention is the young man's concealment as a minor god in the goddess' retinue and a carefully hidden second life: *lucus eum nemorisque sui Dictynna recessu/celat: Aricino Virbius ille lacu* [A grove conceals him and Diana hides him in a cave in her wood: he is Virbius at the Aricine lake] (6.755–56). Hippolytus' story in the *Metamorphoses* emphasizes even more strongly concealment and obscurity as purposeful concomitants of his resurrection:

[151] Newlands' treatment of these doubles focuses on this question of punishment (*Playing with Time*, 194–96); she reads in Aesculapius a "portrait of the artist" and an exploration of the relation between poetry and power.

'tum mihi, ne praesens augerem muneris huius
invidiam, densas obiecit Cynthia nubes,
utque forem tutus possemque inpune videri,
addidit aetatem nec cognoscenda reliquit
ora mihi.'

['Then, lest my presence should foment envy of this gift [of renewed life], Diana threw a thick cloud around me, and so that I might be safe and be seen without being punished, she aged me and left me an unrecognizable face.']

(15.534–38)

Hippolytus' resurrection is more akin to Remus' life as a *lemur* than to Aesculapius' transformation. Yes, he is alive, and yes, he is a god, but his new life as Virbius is specifically designed to obscure any connection to his former life as Hippolytus.

Aesculapius' case is altogether different: his father intervenes, he is both catasterized and deified as a god prominent in the city of Rome and in the calendar. Ovid has already treated the January 1 dedication of his temple on the Tiber Island; the temple's topographical and calendrical locations, both shared with a temple of Veiovis (whom Ovid identifies with Jupiter: *Fasti.* 3.429–48), emphasize Aesculapius' complete reconciliation with his grandfather: *cepit locus unus utrumque/iunctaque sunt magno templa nepotis avo* [A single place receives both, and the grandson's temple is joined to his distinguished grandfather] (1.293–94). All this makes the last line of Ovid's treatment of Jupiter's reanimation of his grandson particularly striking: *propter te, fieri quod vetat, ipse facit* [Because of you, [Apollo], he himself did what he forbids to be done] (6.762). Jupiter had good reasons for erasing the *exemplum* Aesculapius offered: the young hero had been ignoring some very serious boundaries and his death was meant to show that those boundaries could not be crossed without consequence. But then Jupiter brought Aesculapius back to life, set him in the stars, and even consented to share a space in the calendar and in the city with his grandson.

This line represents a quite distinct echo of the passage we have already examined on the *aedes Concordiae*, the *porticus Liviae* and the razing of the house of Vedius Pollio. That passage ends: *sic agitur censura et sic exempla parantur,/cum vindex, alios quod monet, ipse facit* [That's how a censorship is conducted and that's how examples are provided, when the champion of morals himself does what he recommends others do] (6.647–48). In this couplet, just over a hundred lines before the *ipse facit* that ends the Anguitenens passage, Augustus is concerned

to remove the bad *exemplum* of luxury set by Vedius Pollio and thereby set a good one, even at a cost to himself and his heir. Jupiter, whose actions in Augustan poetry so often reflect or comment on Augustus',[152] here at first takes the same course as his earthly counterpart by laying low Aesculapius out of concern for a the example he might set. His change of heart is figured as motivated by family interests: Aesculapius is Jupiter's own grandson, and it is concern for his son Apollo (*propter te*) that makes Jupiter do what he forbids others to do—he revivifies, and indeed deifies and displays in the heavens, the dead man; the snakes that the constellation holds even advertise the transgressive healing Aesculapius has performed. What happened to concern for bad *exempla*?

Augustus, of course, also had a role in the catasterism and deification of a dead man, but that was over and done with forty years before the composition of the *Fasti*. More at issue here, I think, is the revivification of a bad *exemplum*. In the early years of the Augustan period, the deification of Caesar may, indeed, have been more along the lines of Hippolytus'—he was saved from death and made a god, but the connection of that god to the man he once was and to the earthly events that brought about his death was deliberately obscured. I have been arguing that the *Fasti* supports the assertion that the years approaching the succession saw an active revival of the memory of Caesar not simply as a divine ancestor but also as the man whose politically tumultuous life and death served precisely as a bad *exemplum*, a warning against a possible return to chaos. The ideological power of Caesar's memory is both in its contrast to the current *princeps* and in its link to him and his potential heirs: it displays their benevolence (especially towards the Senate) but also their power to behave otherwise. The elevation of Aesculapius as Anguitenens and the display of his transgression similarly exhibits the power of the Olympian gods: theirs is the power to make the rules, but also to break them.

The four readings in Books 5 and 6 just completed are not tidy ones. The complexity and conflicts of the proems stage these books as difficult, and the imperative of reading the two together compounds the problem. The multiple possible readings of the calendrical series *Maius-Iunius-Iulius-Augustus* also make thinking with the

[152] On the equation in this passage, Newlands, *Playing with Time*, 207–8.

month names in this case both absolutely necessary and decidedly problematic in ways that mimic the contradictions and ambiguities in the ideological relation between Caesar and Augustus. We have seen throughout these readings how Ovid uses the rites of May and June to explore the relation between Augustus and the memory of Caesar the man in his associations with the *crimen regni* and with civil war, always with an awareness of Augustus' own role in creating and perpetuating that memory. The words of the *senatus consultum* of 8 B.C.E. changing the name of *Sextilis* to *Augustus* suggest that this relation was at issue from the start in Augustus' choice to place his month directly after Caesar's:

> *Cum imperator Caesar Augustus mense Sextili et primum consulatum inierit, et triumphos tres in urbem intulerit et ex Ianiculo legiones deductae secutaeque sint eius auspicia ac fidem, sed et Aegyptus hoc mense in potestatem populi Romani redacta sit finisque hoc mense bellis civilibus impositus sit, atque ob has causas hic mensis huic imperio felicissimus sit ac fuerit, placere senatui ut hic mensis Augustus appelletur.*
>
> [Since in the month of Sextilis the emperor Caesar Augustus entered his first consulship and led his triple triumph into the city and the legions were led down from the Janiculum under his leadership and good faith, but also since in this month Egypt was brought under the power of the Roman people and in this month an end was placed to civil wars, and since for these reasons this month is and has been most fortunate for this empire, it pleases the senate that this month be called Augustus.]
>
> (Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.35)

Though other reasons are given as well, the decree lays heaviest emphasis on the triple triumph celebrated on August 13–15 of 29 B.C.E., singling out the victory in Alexandria because Roman troops entered that city on the kalends of *Sextilis* of 30 B.C.E. The victories are still in some sense figured as the defeat of a foreign enemy, as they were in the thirties and twenties B.C.E., but they are also marked as the last of the civil wars. Augustan and later historians and poets regularly give a span of twenty years to the civil wars: they began with Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon in 49 B.C.E. and ended with Augustus' return to Italy and his triple triumph.[153] As both the month

[153] See Vell. Pat. 48.3 and A. J. Woodman, ed. and comm., *Velleius Paterculus: The Caesarian and Augustan Narrative (2.41–93)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), ad loc. for further sources. Cf. also the discussion in Potter, "Political Theory," 74–75.

of the triumph and the month of the fall of Alexandria that marked the defeat of the forces of Antony and Cleopatra, August was meant to commemorate annually the *princeps* as having both participated in and brought an end to Rome's civil wars, as both continuing and closing the cycle begun by Caesar. The month-pair *Iulius-Augustus* thus inscribed this twenty-year period of Rome's history that was ideologically both the antithesis of and the birthing ground for the present order. This calendrical intervention plays out on a large scale the tensions between memory and erasure, continuity and discontinuity we have seen brought into focus in Books 5 and 6 and also provides a vivid example of Augustus' role in producing the memory of Caesar: whatever the *mensis Iulius* was meant to do and mean in 45, the *mensis Augustus* fundamentally redefines it and marks the son as 'generating' the historical meaning of his father.

CONCLUSION

When Ovid turned to the project of writing a poem on the Roman calendar, his choice was neither casual nor without consequence. The calendar was one of the many grounds on which imperial ideology and dynastic rule were negotiating their relation with the Republican past, sorting out how the fundamentally reoriented society that emerged from the civil wars might still be Roman. From the calendar's correction, to the renaming of months, to the addition of imperial holidays, Ovid witnessed rapid changes to the calendar at the hands of the *principes* that necessarily brought about shifts in every level of its meaning. But the very fact that these changes were always constrained by the conservative graphic form of the calendar laid bare the actual openness and malleability of the discourse that calendar shaped and gave it vital interest. The *Fasti*'s engagement with Augustan politics is focused by its most basic engagement with the poetics of the Roman calendar. How did the calendar work to make meaning, and what allowed new meanings to be made so easily? What guided those meanings and was it possible to control their reception?

As I hope the preceding chapters have made clear, explorations of precisely these sorts of questions are central to the work the *Fasti* does. By treating calendar-building as a quasi-literary project and translating calendrical structures into poetic mode, Ovid emphasizes the constructed nature of the calendar and the possibility of 'authorial intent' in both its large-scale structures and its collocations of festivals. The epigraphical calendars emerge as a central intertext for Ovid's poem so that it constitutes in part an interpretation, a reading of those calendars. The *Fasti*'s book-per-month structure is a crucial element of that reading, asserting a certain topical cohesion to each month's festivals; the proems, linked as they are to the names of the months, challenge the poem's reader to find that cohesion. The choice of a continuous elegiac mode also seems in part driven by the rhythms of the calendar, with the pentameter encouraging a high degree of episodicity, but only in the context of an unbroken flow of time that militates against strict divisions between contiguous or nearby episodes. I have often found parallels to the poetic

connections Ovid makes among the months' festivals and between the festivals and the proems in other discourses ranging from the calendars themselves to antiquarian researches, history, art, and architecture, and I have argued that the frequency and prevalence of these interpretive connections is due to the habits of 'reading' encouraged by calendrical structures. Where Ovid appears to have purely invented aetia or connections among rites, we can nonetheless frequently see the calendrical impulse behind the invention: if the calendar asked for active readers, then Ovid was happy to comply.

Given the heavy hands Caesar, Augustus, and even Tiberius laid on the calendar, perhaps the most challenging point of my discussion is the contention that the calendar remained an open discourse throughout these imperial revisions and additions so that the flexibility of interpretation implied in Ovid's reading is not necessarily subversive or disruptive of the message of the imperial holidays. While *senatus consulta* prescribe basic meanings for the festivals and even for the new month-names, I have argued that the success and longevity of the changes, their acceptance as meaningful additions to the calendar, depended on their active participation in the established calendrical discourse. The placement of certain festivals and the choices involved in renaming *Quintilis* and *Sextilis* after Caesar and Augustus are some of the clearest evidence for the habits of reading with which an elite Roman, or perhaps any Roman, is likely to have approached the calendar. The Julio-Claudian additions to the calendar ask readers for the same reading strategies we found to prevail in our early explorations: month-oriented readings guided by the month's name and continuous reading to establish linked cycles of festivals. The results of those readings are, of course, inevitably reoriented by the ever growing number of new festivals that honored the members of the imperial household; nonetheless, they are not prescribed, and the new holidays' dependence on the open structure of the calendar allows space for a variety of readings. Again, Ovid obliges by poetically integrating the new festivals into their calendrical contexts, whether that means following the guiding hand of the *princeps* to lend additional weight to the celebration by bringing to the fore authorizing connections with older rites, or whether it means emphasizing tensions and contradictions between new festivals and old ones. Even the latter sorts of readings make clear the Julio-Claudian holidays' *participation* in the calendar: the 'added days' are not something entirely foreign to the way the old calendar worked and they do not make it cease to function as an active social discourse.

My last chapter, in its proleptic focus on the *menses Iulius* and *Augustus*, raises the inevitable issue of the incompleteness, or halfway completeness of the poem. Perhaps this is the place to give the question brief attention, as I attempt to make my own ending, likely with even less success than Ovid. The calendrical reading habits that have emerged from my reading of Ovid's reading of the calendar suggest that the latter half of the year would have presented two particular challenges to the modus operandi Ovid adopts in the six completed books. On the one hand, the meanings of the months of July and August may well have felt more heavily prescribed than the earlier months. If Ovid followed his regular practice of organizing the month by means of a proem treating the month's name, these months would have to be 'about' Caesar and his heir. Indeed, new festivals within the months reinforced this reorientation in a particularly strong ways. Caesar's July includes his birthday on the 12th and a ten-day set of games at the end of the month in honor of *Victoria Caesaris*. August is marked by commemorations of the fall of Alexandria to Augustus and the end of the civil wars (Aug. 1), Augustus' triple triumph (Aug. 14), his entry into his first consulate (Aug. 19), all, as we have seen, expressly mentioned in the *senatus consultum* that renamed the month (Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.35); Augustus also died in his month, and that event makes its calendrical mark on the 19th. Caesarian holidays are also generously represented in Augustus' month: his victories in Spain and Pontus and at Pharsalus are celebrated here, as is the dedication of the temple of *Divus Iulius*. Critics have often suggested that the *Fasti*'s silence about these two months constitutes a resistance to this degree of prescription and a refusal to adopt the consistently panegyrical tone the months would have required. Panegyric is far from foreign to the extant books of the poem, however, and we have already seen in my final chapter that the meanings of the *menses Iulius* and *Augustus* were not frozen by the intentions of the honorees themselves or of the senate that instituted the new month-names. Indeed, the very richness of the imperial layer in these months would have offered Ovid a great deal of material to work with in continuing to explore the calendar's power to build meaning and the *princeps*' attempts to harness that power. Ovid was surely up to the challenge July and August represented.

It is harder to imagine what the poet would have done in a proem to 'Eighth-Month' or 'Ninth-Month': the names of the final four months of the year are singularly devoid of the interpretive value that organizes Ovid's basic method of reading the calendar, especially

considering that their numbers do not even correspond to their place in the calendar. In addition, it must be admitted that these last months present a certain dearth of calendrical material: the winter months were for the most part dead both agriculturally and militarily, thus removing two of the most frequent sources of calendrical material; September and November in fact have no large-letter festivals whatsoever. With little to organize and nothing to organize it with, it would not be surprising if Ovid balked at writing these last books.

Whatever the challenges, however, I do not mean to argue that Ovid simply became frustrated and stopped—the *Fasti* is not a failure. Recent work has, to my mind, established that at some point Ovid chose to make these six books a strangely finished fragment, squared off at precisely the halfway point, polished, and provided with a plethora of closural devices; perhaps even revised to show the poet-narrator on a trajectory of increasing disillusionment and dissolution. Ovid did not simply give up on an ill-conceived project: he chose to finish without completing a full survey of the calendar's contents. To my mind, this only emphasizes that a thorough exegesis of the rites of the year was not, in fact, Ovid's central project in writing the *Fasti*. Ovid stops at a place structurally significant to the calendar, at the halfway point, rather than, say at the end of the eighth month; we saw in Chapter 2 the epigraphic habit of dividing the year into two six-month blocks. The completed semester accomplishes what Ovid wanted to do: it treats *tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum* [festivals along with their causes as they are arranged through the Latin year]. What has, I hope, emerged from this reading is the poem's focus on the calendar's arrangement of rites as integrally related to their *causae*, to their reasons, and therefore to their social meanings. In a calendar whose contents and meanings had undergone such significant shifts in Ovid's lifetime, a thorough survey of the calendar's rites was not important: they had changed, were changing, and would change again. Far more valuable to understanding the way Augustus and the emerging dynasty were reconfiguring Ovid's world is the *Fasti*'s exploration of what happens when new rites come into the calendar, how the entry of a new festival into the calendrical discourse both shapes the meaning of the rite itself and reshapes the discourse it enters.

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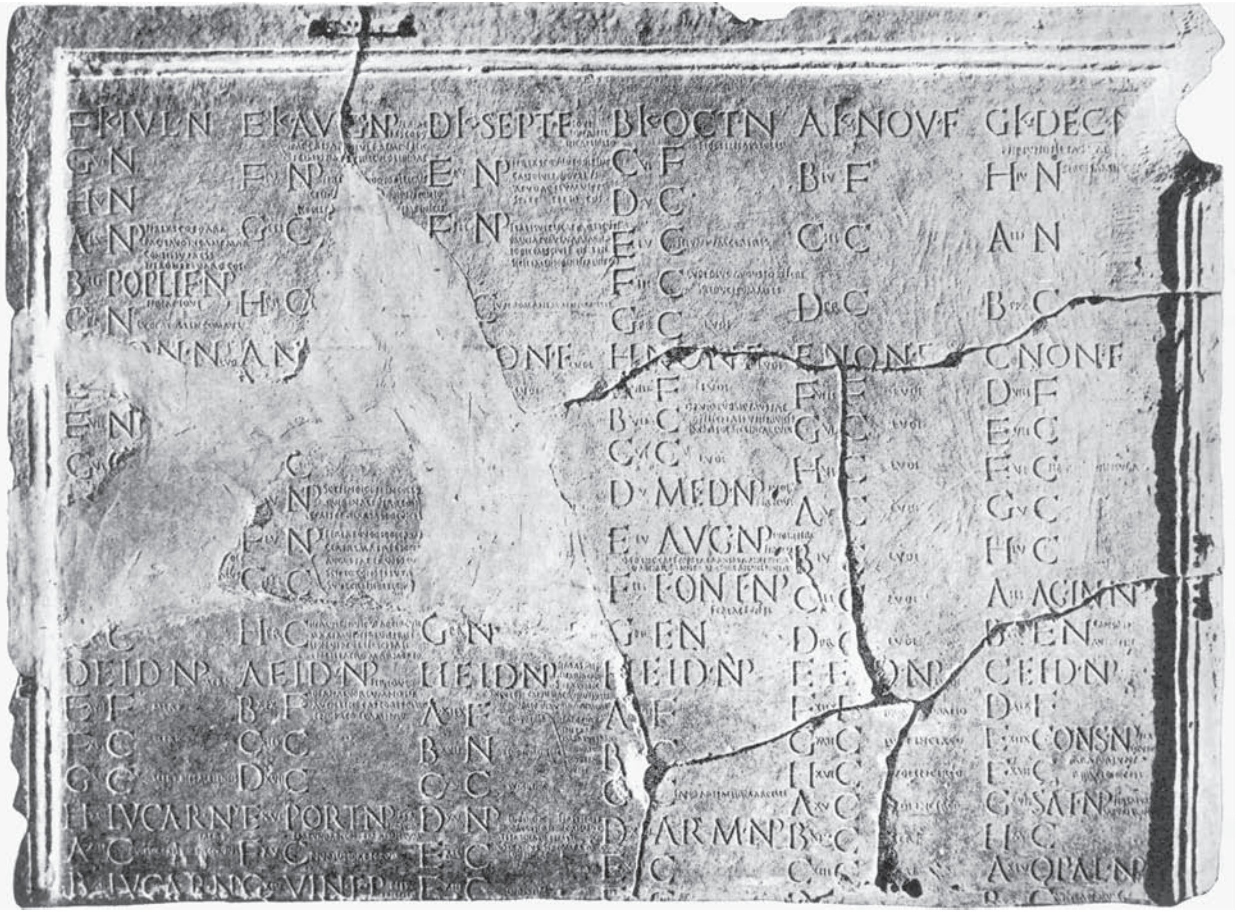

Plate 1. *Fasti Amiterni*, July-December, showing basic graphic structure of the calendar. L'Aquila, Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo. Photo after Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* 13.2, Tab. LXII. Courtesy of the Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Rome.

Plate 2. Augustan ‘Sorrento base’. At left, Vestals proceed toward a seated Vesta, flanked by Ceres (on Vesta’s right) and Flora. Note in background bull and ram statues on pedestals. Sorrento, Museo Correale. Kopperman, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 1965.1252.

Plate 3. Augustan 'Belvedere altar' of the *Lares Augusti*, side with the apotheosis of Caesar; at left, Augustus, at right Gaius, Lucius and Venus Genetrix (?). Rome, Vatican.
Rossa, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 1975.1289.